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THE

REVIEW AND FALL

ROMAN EMPIRE

BY EDWARD GIBSON

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I.

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JOHN WATTS

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. XXVII.

*Death of Gratian—Ruin of Ariminum—St. Ambrose—
First civil war, against Maximus—Character, ad-
ministration, and penance, of Theodosius—Death of
Valentinian II—Second civil war, against Eugen-
ius—Death of Theodosius.*

THE fame of Gratian, before he had ac-
complished the twentieth year of his age, was
equal to that of the most celebrated princes.
His gentle and amiable disposition endeared him
to his private friends, the graceful affability of
his manners engaged the affection of the people:
the men of letters, who enjoyed the liberality,
acknowledged the taste and eloquence of their
sovereign; his valour and dexterity in arms
were equally applauded by the soldiers: and the

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Character
and con-
duct of the
emperor
Gratian.

A. D. 379-
383.

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clergy considered the humble piety of Gratian as the first and most useful of his virtues. The victory of Colmar had delivered the West from a formidable invasion; and the grateful provinces of the East ascribed the merits of Theodosius to the author of his greatness, and of the public safety. Gratian survived those memorable events only four or five years: but he survived his reputation; and, before he fell a victim to rebellion, he had lost, in a great measure, the respect and confidence of the Roman world.

His defects.

The remarkable alteration of his character or conduct, may not be imputed to the arts of flattery, which had besieged the son of Valentinian from his infancy; nor to the headstrong passions which that gentle youth appears to have escaped. A more attentive view of the life of Gratian, may perhaps suggest the true cause of the disappointment of the public hopes. His apparent virtues, instead of being the hardy productions of experience and adversity, were the premature and artificial fruits of a royal education. The anxious tenderness of his father was continually employed to bestow on him those advantages, which he might perhaps esteem the more highly, as he himself had been deprived of them; and the most skillful masters of every science, and of every art, had laboured to form the mind and body of the young prince.* The knowledge which they pain-

* Valentinian was less attentive to the religion of his son; since he intrusted the education of Gratian to Ambrose, a professed pagan. (Maur.)

fully communicated was displayed with ostentation; and celebrated with lavish praise. His soft and tractable disposition received the fair impression of their judicious precepts, and the absence of passion might easily be mistaken for the strength of reason. His preceptors gradually rose to the rank and consequence of ministers of state;² and, as they wisely dissembled their secret authority, he seemed to act with firmness, with propriety, and with judgment, on the most important occasions of his life and reign. But the influence of this elaborate instruction did not penetrate beyond the surface; and the skilful preceptors, who so accurately guided the steps of their royal pupil, could not infuse into his feeble and indolent character, the vigorous and independent principle of action, which renders the laborious pursuit of glory essentially necessary to the happiness, and almost to the existence, of the hero. As soon as time and accident had removed these faithful counsellors from the throne, the emperor of the West insensibly descended to the level of his natural genius; abandoned the reins of government to the ambitious hands which were stretched forwards to grasp them; and amused his leisure with the most frivolous gratifications. A public sale of favour and injustice was instituted, both

(*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xi, p. 115-118). The political sense of Ammianus resembles the taste of his age.

² Ammianus was intimately connected to the protection procurator of Italy, (A. D. 317), and of Gaul, (A. D. 318); and was at length breaking with the establishment, (A. D. 319). He expressed his gratitude in several and useful pieces of history, (A. D. 319-320), which have survived more worthy production.

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in the court, and in the provinces, by the worthless delegates of his power, whose merit it was made *sacrilege* to question.* The conscience of the credulous prince was directed by *saints* and bishops:† who procured an imperial edict to punish, as a capital offence, the violation, the neglect, or even the ignorance of the divine law.‡ Among the various arts which had exercised the youth of Gratian, he had applied himself, with singular inclination and success, to manage the horse, to draw the bow, and to dart the javelin: and these qualifications, which might be useful to a soldier, were prostituted to the viler purposes of hunting. Large parks were inclosed for the imperial pleasures, and plentifully stocked with every species of wild beasts: and Gratian neglected the duties, and even the dignity, of his rank, to consume whole days in the vain display of his dexterity and boldness in the chase. The pride and wish of the Roman emperor to excel in an art, in which he might be surpassed by the meanest of his slaves, reminded the numerous spectators of the examples of Nero and Commodus: but the chaste and temperate Gra-

* *Disputare de principum jussibus non oportet. Earrumque enim inter se subesse, ut si dignus sit, quoniam aliquis imperator. Codex Justinianus, l. in. tit. xix, leg. 3.* This canonized law was revised and promulgated, after the death of Gratian, by the *double error* of Mann.

† *Antiquæ compositionis, seu 24æ instructionis, a theologis tractatæ de verbis de quibus Trivulsi*: and Tillamont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tome 1, p. 128, 167) ascribes to the authenticity the story of Gratian's incontinence.

‡ *Qui divina legem violaverint, sacrilegium committunt, aut negligenter violant, et offendunt, sacrilegium committunt. Codex Justinianus, l. in. tit. xix, leg. 1.* Theodosius indeed may claim his share in the origin of this comprehensive law.

and was a stranger to their monstrous vices; and his hands were stained only with the blood of animals.

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The behaviour of Gratian, which degraded his character in the eyes of mankind, could not have disturbed the security of his reign, if the army had not been provoked to resent their peculiar injuries. As long as the young emperor was guided by the instructions of his masters, he professed himself the friend and pupil of the soldiers; many of his hours were spent in the familiar conversation of the camp, and the health, the comforts, the rewards, the honours, of his faithful troops, appeared to be the object of his attentive concern. But, after Gratian more freely indulged his prevailing taste for hunting and shooting, he naturally connected himself with the most dexterous ministers of his favourite amusement. A body of the Alani was received into the military and domestic service of the palace; and the admirable skill, which they were accustomed to display in the unbounded plains of Scythia, was exercised on a more narrow theatre, in the parks and inclosures of Gaul. Gratian admired the talents and customs of these favourite guards, to whom alone he intrusted the defence of his person: and, as if he meant to insult the public opinion, he frequently shewed himself to the soldiers

Discontent
of the
Roman
troops.
L. O. 380.

¹ Ammianus (xviii. 10) and the younger Victor acknowledge the virtues of Gratian; and express, in rather harsh terms, his degenerate taste. The odious parallel of Commodus is saved by "belli incrementum," and perhaps Puffendorf (l. x. c. 10, and Godefroy, p. 417) has justified, with some similar reserve, the comparison of Nero.

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and people, with the dress and arms, the long bow, the sounding quiver, and the far garments, of a Scythian warrior. The unworthy spectacle of a Roman prince, who had renounced the dress and manners of his country, filled the minds of the legions with grief and indignation.* Even the Germans, so strong and formidable in the armies of the empire, affected to disclaim the strange and horrid appearance of the savages of the North, who, in the space of a few years, had wandered from the banks of the Volga to those of the Seine. A loud and licentious murmur was echoed through the camps and garrisons of the West; and as the mild indolence of Gratian neglected to extinguish the first symptoms of discontent, the want of love and respect was not supplied by the influence of fear. But the subversion of an established government is always a work of some real, and of much apparent, difficulty; and the throne of Gratian was protected by the sanctions of custom, law, religion, and the nice balance of the civil and military powers, which had been established by the policy of Constantine. It is not very important to inquire from what causes the revolt of Britain was produced. Accident is commonly the parent of disorder; the seeds of rebellion happened to fall on a soil which was supposed to be more fruitful than any other in tyrants and

* Zosimus II. iv. p. 247. and the younger Vindex wrote the revolution to the favour of the Alani, and the discontent of the Roman troops. *Quam parvum suffugeret, et pennis et Alani, quos legentis non ad se transiissent, antea videri in Romanis militibus.*

usurpers: the legions of that sequestered island had long been famous for a spirit of presumption and arrogance; and the name of Maximus was proclaimed by the tumultuary, but unanimous voice, both of the soldiers and of the provincials. The emperor, or the rebel, for his title was not yet ascertained by fortune, was a native of Spain, the countryman, the fellow-soldier, and the rival of Theodosius, whose elevation he had not seen without some emotions of envy and resentment: the events of his life had long since fixed him in Britain; and I should not be unwilling to find some evidence for the marriage, which he is said to have contracted with the daughter of a wealthy lord of Caernarvonshire.^a But this provincial rank might justly be considered as a state of exile and obscurity: and if Maximus had obtained any civil or military office, he was not invested with the authority either of governor or general.^b

^a *Britannia fertili provincia tyrannorum*, is a remarkable expression, used by Jovius in the following controversy, and (as I have noticed) in the dispute of our national antiquaries. The revolutions of the last age appeared to justify the image of the ambitious Brutus, "et sic ille, post regnum quod les inter civilis Perseidibus."

^b *Constant sets of the British soldiers, was a law which was not made in any manner.*

^c *Hiberna the daughter of Hibernia.* Her chapel may still be seen at Chertsey, near Caernarvon, Clave's *Hist. of England*, vol. 1, p. 108, from Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*. The pendant crosses may not perhaps be satisfied with such Welsh evidences.

^d *Cassiodorus* (vol. 4, introduction, p. 45) supposes him governor of Britain; and the father of our antiquaries is followed, as usual, by his blind progeny. *Parvus* and *Constant* had taken some pains to prevent this error, as *Clave*; and I shall protect myself by their present acknowledgments. *Bagell habuit eruditum, illi eruditus verba non secuit, illi Persuade. Vol. iii, 26,* and the Greek translation, still less equivocally, *Maximus* is the *magis verba non secuit* (vol. iii, p. 215).

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His abilities, and even his integrity, are acknowledged by the partial writers of the age; and the merit must indeed have been conspicuous, that could extort such a confession in favour of the vanquished enemy of Theodosius. The discontent of Maximus might incline him to censure the conduct of his sovereign, and to encourage, perhaps without any views of ambition, the murmurs of the troops. But in the midst of the tumult, he artfully, or modestly, refused to ascend the throne: and some credit appears to have been given to his own positive declaration, that he was compelled to accept the dangerous present of the imperial purple.*

Flight and
death of
Gratian.

But there was danger likewise in refusing the empire: and from the moment that Maximus had violated his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, he could not hope to reign, or even to live, if he confined his moderate ambition within the narrow limits of Britain. He boldly and wisely resolved to prevent the designs of Gratian; the youth of the island crowded to his standard, and he invaded Gaul with a fleet and army, which were long afterwards remembered, as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation.† The emperor, in his peaceful residence

* Soliman Severus, *Dialog. ii. T. German. i. c. 14. p. 24. p. 220.* They both acknowledge (Soliman had been his subject) his uprightness and merit. It is singular enough, that Maximus should be so favourably treated by Zosimus, the partial adversary of his race.

† Archbishop Fisher (*Antiquitat. Britan. Eccl. p. 107, 108*), has diligently collected the legends of the island and the continent. The whole anglo-saxon consisted of 20,000 soldiers, and 100,000 followers.

of Paris, was alarmed by their hostile approach; and the darts which he idly wasted on lions and bears, might have been employed more honourably against the rebels. But his feeble efforts announced his degenerate spirit and desperate situation; and deprived him of the resources, which he still might have found, in the support of his subjects and allies. The armies of Gaul, instead of opposing the march of Maximus, received him with joyful and loyal acclamations; and the shame of the desertion was transferred from the people to the prince. The troops, whose station more immediately attached them to the service of the palace, abandoned the standard of Gratian the first time that it was displayed in the neighbourhood of Paris. The emperor of the West fled towards Lyons, with a train of only three hundred horse: and, in the cities along the road, where he hoped to find a refuge, or at least a passage, he was taught, by cruel experience, that every gate is shut against the unfortunate. Yet he might still have reached, in safety, the dominions of his brother; and soon have returned with the forces of Italy and the East: if he had not suffered himself to be fatally deceived by the perfidious governor of the Lyonsese province. Gratian was amused by protestations of doubtful fidelity, and the hopes of a

plunder, who settled in Britanny. Their destined leader, St. Evais, was 11,000 soldiers, and 20,000 pikemen, together, which they way-laid at Orléans, and were all most cruelly massacred by the Huns. But the pikemen whom have been deluded of their equal humanity and, what is still harder, John Tithemore, pretends to mention the children of these British sages.

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A. D. 368.
Aug. 25.

support, which could not be effectual; till the arrival of Andragathus, the general of the cavalry of Maximus; put an end to his suspense. That resolute officer executed, without remorse, the orders, or the intentions, of the usurper. Gratian, as he rose from supper, was delivered into the hands of the assassin; and his body was denied to the pious and pressing entreaties of his brother Valentinian.* The death of the emperor was followed by that of his powerful general Mollomades, the king of the Franks; who maintained, to the last moment of his life, the ambiguous reputation, which is the just recompence of obscure and subtle policy.† These executions might be necessary to the public safety: but the successful usurper, whose power was acknowledged by all the provinces of the West, had the merit, and the satisfaction, of boasting, that except those who had perished by the chance of war, his triumph was not stained by the blood of the Romans.‡

* *Epiphani* (l. vi. p. 248, 249) has transcribed the death of Gratian from *Greg. Nazianzen* in *Orat. (Agony)* in *Menolog.* Some hints may be extracted from the *Chronicles*; some lies may be detected in *Sozomen* (l. vii. c. 12), and *Athenas* (l. vi. c. 12). Although it may contain authentic relations, *Idem* l. *Enchiridion* in *Paulin* (l. i. p. 93) (tom. iii. apud. 1817, p. 498, 502, 503, and see *Orat. Valentinian* in *Constantin* V. c. 18, p. 1182).

† *Epiphani* (l. vi. 391) condemns his edicts; while his treachery is asserted in *Gregory's Chronicle*, as the cause of the ruin of Gratian. *Athenas*, who has occasion to calumniate himself, only mentions the death of Valens, a faithful servant of Gratian, (*Idem* l. apud. 230, p. 504, 505, *Basiliens*).

‡ He protested, *nil nisi ex adversis non in amicis occidimus*. *Sulp. Severus* in *Vit. R. Maxim.* c. 28. The temper of Theodosius becomes reluctant, and therefore weighty, gentle on his edicts. At out 189, *pro rebus publicis suis, quod maxime dicitur*. (*Phlegon* V. c. 10, 29).

The events of this revolution had passed in such rapid succession, that it would have been impossible for Theodosius to march to the relief of his benefactor, before he received the intelligence of his defeat and death. During the season of sincere grief, or ostentatious mourning, the Eastern emperor was interrupted by the arrival of the principal chamberlain of Maximus; and the choice of a venerable old man, for an office which was usually exercised by eunuchs, announced to the court of Constantinople the gravity and temperance of the British usurper. The ambassador condescended to justify, or excuse, the conduct of his master; and to protest, in specious language, that the murder of Gratian had been perpetrated without his knowledge or consent, by the precipitate zeal of the soldiers. But he proceeded, in a firm and equal tone, to offer Theodosius the alternative of peace or war. The speech of the ambassador concluded with a spirited declaration, that although Maximus, as a Roman, and as the father of his people, would choose rather to employ his forces in the common defence of the republic, he was armed and prepared, if his friendship should be rejected, to dispute, in a field of battle, the empire of the world. An immediate and peremptory answer was required; but it was extremely difficult for Theodosius to satisfy, on this important occasion, either the feelings of his own mind, or the expectations of the public. The imperious voice of honour and gratitude called aloud for revenge. From the liberality of Gra-

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Treaty of peace between Maximus and Theodosius.
A. D. 383-387.

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tion, he had received the imperial diadem: his patience would encourage the odious suspicion, that he was more deeply sensible of former injuries, than of recent obligations; and if he accepted the friendship, he must seem to share the guilt, of the assassin. Even the principles of justice, and the interest of society, would receive a fatal blow from the impunity of Maximus: and the example of successful usurpation would tend to dissolve the artificial fabric of government, and once more to replunge the empire in the crimes and calamities of the preceding age. But, as the sentiments of gratitude and honour should invariably regulate the conduct of an individual, they may be overbalanced in the mind of a sovereign, by the sense of superior duties: and the maxims both of justice and humanity must permit the escape of an atrocious criminal, if an innocent people would be involved in the consequences of his punishment. The usurper of Gratian had usurped, but he actually possessed, the most warlike provinces of the empire: the East was exhausted by the misfortunes, and even by the success, of the Gothic war; and it was seriously to be apprehended, that, after the vital strength of the republic had been wasted in a doubtful and destructive contest, the feeble conqueror would remain an easy prey to the barbarians of the North. These weighty considerations engaged Theodosius to dissemble his resentment, and to accept the alliance of the tyrant. But he stipulated, that Maximus should content himself with the possession of the countries be-

yond the Alps. The breach of Gratian was confirmed and secured in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the Western Illyricum: and some honourable conditions were inserted in the treaty, to protect the memory, and the laws, of the deceased emperor.* According to the custom of the age, the images of the three imperial colleagues were exhibited to the veneration of the people: nor should it be lightly supposed, that, in the moment of a solemn reconciliation, Theodosius secretly cherished the intention of perfidy and revenge.†

The contempt of Gratian for the Roman soldiers had exposed him to the fatal effects of their resentment. His profound veneration for the Christian clergy was rewarded by the applause and gratitude of a powerful order, which has claimed, in every age, the privilege of dispensing honours, both on earth and in heaven. The orthodox bishops bewailed his death, and their own irreparable loss: but they were soon comforted by the discovery, that Gratian had committed the sceptre of the East to the hands of a prince, whose humble faith, and fervent zeal, were supported by the spirit and abilities of a more vigorous character. Among the benefactors

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History
and critical
editions
of Theodosius.
A. D. 380,
Vol. II.

* Ammianus mentions the name of Gratian, quite soon afterwards, *lib. 31. c. 17.*

† Zosimus, *l. 1. c. 11, p. 251, 252.* We may suppose his odious suggestions; but we cannot reject the treaty of peace which the friends of Theodosius have absolutely forgotten, or slightly mentioned.

† That occupies the archbishop of Milan, assigns to his pupil Gratian an high and respectable place in history, *Ann. de l'Écl. Val. Const.* p. 1180.

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of the church; the fame of Constantine has been rivalled by the glory of Theodosius. If Constantine had the advantage of erecting the standard of the cross, the emulation of his successor assumed the merit of subduing the Arian heresy, and of abolishing the worship of idols in the Roman world. Theodosius was the first of the emperors baptised in the true faith of the Trinity. Although he was born of a Christian family, the maxims, or at least the practice of the age, encouraged him to delay the ceremony of his initiation; till he was admonished of the danger of delay, by the serious illness which threatened his life, towards the end of the first year of his reign. Before he again took the field against the Goths, he received the sacrament of baptism* from Acholius, the orthodox bishop of Thessalonica;† and, as the emperor ascended from the holy font, still glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a solemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith, and prescribed the religion of his subjects.

“ It is our pleasure (such is the imperial style)
 “ that all the nations, which are governed by our
 “ clemency and moderation, should stedfastly
 “ adhere to the religion which was taught by St.

* For the baptism of Theodosius, see Sozomen, l. vi., c. 4; Sozomen, l. vi., c. 6; and Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v., p. 1286.

† Asclepias, or Acholius, was summoned by the friendship, and the prayers, of Ambrose; who styles him, *curas fidei atque caritatis*, *Epist. li. epist. xv.*, p. 829; and afterwards celebrates his speed and diligence in running to Constantinople, Italy, &c. *Epist. xvi.*, p. 819; a virtue which does not appear to belong to a saint, or a bishop.

"Peter to the Romans; which faithful tradition
 "has preserved; and which is now professed by
 "the pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, bishop of
 "Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. Ac-
 "cording to the discipline of the apostles, and
 "the doctrine of the gospel, let us believe the
 "sole deity of the Father, the Son, and the
 "Holy Ghost; under an equal majesty, and a
 "pious Trinity. We authorize the followers of
 "this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic
 "Christians; and as we judge, that all others are
 "extravagant madmen, we brand them with the
 "infamous name of Heretics; and declare, that
 "their conventicles shall no longer usurp the
 "respectable appellation of churches. Besides
 "the condemnation of Divine justice, they must
 "expect to suffer the severe penalties, which our
 "authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall
 "think proper to inflict upon them." The
 faith of a soldier is commonly the fruit of instruc-
 tion, rather than of inquiry; but as the emperor
 always fixed his eyes on the visible land-marks of
 orthodoxy, which he had so prudently constituted,
 his religious opinions were never affected by the
 specious texts, the subtle arguments, and the
 ambiguous creeds of the Arian doctors. Once
 indeed he expressed a faint inclination to converse
 with the eloquent and learned Eusebiodorus, who
 lived in retirement at a small distance from Con-

* *Constitutio* Theodosii I. c. vii. tit. 2. leg. 2. v. 10. *Constitutio* Theodosii I. c. vii. tit. 2. leg. 2. v. 10. *Constitutio* Theodosii I. c. vii. tit. 2. leg. 2. v. 10. Such an edict assured the warmest proficients of Basilianism, *curramus sanctissimum, refectum purum et salutare*.—See *his* *ad eum*.

stantinople. But the dangerous interview was prevented by the prayers of the empress Placcilla, who trembled for the salvation of her husband: and the mind of Theodosius was confirmed by a theological argument, adapted to the rudest capacity. He had lately bestowed, on his eldest son, Arcadius, the name and honours of Augustus; and the two princes were seated on a stately throne to receive the homage of their subjects. A bishop, Amphilochius of Iconium, approached the throne, and after saluting, with due reverence, the person of his sovereign, he accosted the royal youth with the same familiar tenderness, which he might have used towards a plebeian child. Provoked by this insolent behaviour, the monarch gave orders, that the rustic priest should be instantly driven from his presence. But while the guards were forcing him to the door, the dexterous polemic had time to execute his design, by exclaiming, with a loud voice,—“Such is the treatment, O Emperor! which the King of Heaven has prepared for those impious men, who affect to worship the Father, but refuse to acknowledge the equal majesty of his divine Son.” Theodosius immediately embraced the bishop of Iconium; and never forgot the important lesson, which he had received from this dramatic parable.*

* Seebeck, l. vii. c. 6; Theodoret, l. v. c. 16. Tillmann is displeased (*Mon. Eccles. lant.* vi. p. 627, 628) with the terms of “*eccles. homag.*” — *sanctus city.*” Yet I must take leave to think, that both Amphilochius and Theodosius were objects of considerable magnitude in the Roman empire.

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Account
of Constanti-
nople,
A. D. 330-
350.

Constantinople was the principal seat and fortress of Arianism; and, in a long interval of forty years,* the faith of the princes and prelates, who reigned in the capital of the East, was rejected in the purer schools of Rome and Alexandria. The archiepiscopal throne of Macedonius, which had been polluted with so much Christian blood, was successively filled by Eudoxus and Damophilus. Their diocese enjoyed a free importation of vice and error from every province of the empire; the eager pursuit of religious controversy afforded a new occupation to the busy idleness of the metropolis; and we may credit the assertion of an intelligent observer, who describes, with some pleasantry, the effects of their eloquent zeal. "This city," says he, "is full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them profound theologians; and preach in the shops, and in the streets. If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you, wherein the Son differs from the Father: if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing."^b

* See *Meinert's Hist. de l'Église*, l. vi, c. 2. *Meinert's Hist. de l'Église*. The account of forty years must be dated from the election or intrusion of Arianism; who wisely exchanged the dialogue of Nicomedia for the throne of Constantinople.

^b See *Justin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv, p. 11. The fifty-third *Oration of Gregory Nazianzen* affords some similar ideas, even some still more ridiculous; but I have not yet found the words of this remarkable passage, which I allege on the faith of a learned and liberal scholar.

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The heretics, of various denominations, subsisted in peace under the protection of the Arians of Constantinople; who endeavoured to secure the attachment of those obscure sectaries; while they abused, with unrelenting severity, the victory which they had obtained over the followers of the council of Nice. During the partial reigns of Constantine and Valens, the feeble remnant of the Homousians was deprived of the public and private exercise of their religion; and it has been observed, in pathetic language, that the scattered flock was left without a shepherd to wander on the mountains, or to be devoured by rapacious wolves.* But, as their zeal, instead of being subdued, derived strength and vigour from oppression, they seized the first moments of imperfect freedom, which they acquired by the death of Valens, to form themselves into a regular congregation, under the conduct of an episcopal pastor. Two natives of Cappadocia, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen,[†] were distinguished above all their contemporaries,[‡] by the rare union of profane

Gregory
Nazianzen.

* See the thirty-second Oration of Gregory Nazianzen, and the account of his own life, which he has composed in 1802 verses. Yet every physician is prone to exaggerate the inveterate nature of the disease which he has cured.

† I must not myself deeply indebted to the two lives of Gregory Nazianzen, composed, with very different views, by Tillemont, (*Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. II., p. 293-340, 392-731), and La Cretz, (*Ubiſtopusque* Universelle, tom. xxiii., p. 1-129).

‡ Unless Gregory Nazianzen, towards thirty years in his own age, he was born, as well as his friend Basil, about the year 328. The propitious chronology of Suidas has been gradually revised; because it removes the scandal of Gregory's father, a saint licentious, begotting children, after he became a bishop, (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. II., p. 603-697).

eloquence and of orthodox piety. These orators, who might sometimes be compared, by themselves, and by the public, to the most celebrated of the ancient Greeks, were united by the ties of the strictest friendship. They had cultivated, with equal ardour, the same liberal studies in the schools of Athens; they had retired, with equal devotion, to the same solitude in the deserts of Pontus; and every spark of emulation, or envy, appeared to be totally extinguished in the holy and ingenious breasts of Gregory and Basil. But the exaltation of Basil, from a private life to the archiepiscopal throne of Caesarea, discovered to the world, and perhaps to himself, the pride of his character; and the first favour which he condescended to bestow on his friend was received, and perhaps was intended, as a cruel insult.¹ Instead of employing the superior talents of Gregory in some useful and conspicuous station, the haughty prelate selected, among the fifty bishoprics of his extensive province, the wretched village

¹ Gregory's *Passion* on his own life contains some beautiful facts, (c. 1. li. 39), which burst from the heart, and speak the purity of injured and true friendship.—

Ὁμοῖον αὖτις ποιεῖται ἡμεῖς
 Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ
 ἴσμεν ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἴσμεν
 Ὁμοῖον αὖτις ποιεῖται ἡμεῖς
 Ὁμοῖον αὖτις ποιεῖται ἡμεῖς

In the Midsummer Night's Dream, Helena addresses the same pathetic complaint to her friend Hermia.—

It all the crimes that we two have shared,
 The sister's curse, &c.

Hieronymus had never visited the person of Gregory Nazianzen; he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother-tongue, the language of nature, is the same in Cappadocia and in Britain.

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of Sasima,² without water, without verdure, without society, situate at the junction of three high-ways, and frequented only by the incessant passage of rude and clamorous waggons. Gregory submitted with reluctance to this humiliating exile; he was ordained bishop of Sasima; but he solemnly protests, that he never consummated his spiritual marriage with this disgusting bride. He afterwards consented to undertake the government of his native church of Nazianzus,³ of which his father had been bishop above five and fifty years. But as he was still conscious, that he deserved another audience, and another theatre, he accepted, with no unworthy ambition, the honourable invitation, which was addressed to him from the orthodox party of Constantinople. On his arrival in the capital, Gregory was entertained in the house of a pious and charitable kinsman; the most spacious room was consecrated to the uses of religious worship; and the name of *Anastasia* was chosen to express the resurrection of the Nicene faith. This private conventicle was afterwards converted into a magnificent church; and the credulity of the succeeding age

Accepts the
mission of
Constanti-
nople,
A. D. 376,
November.

² This infernal scene of Sasima is given by Gregory Nazianzen, (*Opera in de Vith. vol. 2, p. 7, 8*). Its precise situation, forty-nine miles from Archinas, and thirty-two from Tyanus, is fixed in the *Itinerary of Antonine*, pp. 344, edit. Wesseling.

³ The name of Nazianzus has been misread by Gregory's first biographer, under the Greek or Roman title of *Oncastura*, (*Ullmanni, Misc. Critic. tom. ix, p. 822*), is mentioned by Pline, 376, *De Pisonis*, and Hierocles, *Orient. Wesseling, p. 109*. It appears to have been situate on the edge of Ionia.

was prepared to believe the miracles and visions, which attested the presence, or at least the protection, of the Mother of God.¹ The pulpit of the Anastasia was the scene of the labours and triumphs of Gregory Nazianzen; and, in the space of two years, he experienced all the spiritual adventures which constitute the prosperous or adverse fortunes of a missionary.² The Arians, who were provoked by the boldness of his enterprise, represented his doctrine, as if he had preached three distinct and equal Deities; and the devout populace was excited to suppress, by violence and tumult, the irregular assemblies of the Athanasian heretics. From the cathedral of St. Sophia, there issued a motley crowd "of common beggars, who had forfeited their claim to pity; of monks, who had the appearance of gouts or satyrs; and of women, more terrible than so many Jezebels." The doors of the Anastasia were broke open: much mischief was perpetrated, or attempted, with sticks, stones, and firebrands; and as a man lost his life in the affray, Gregory, who was summoned the next morning before the magistrate, had the satisfaction of supposing, that he publicly confessed the name of Christ. After he was delivered from the fear and danger of a foreign enemy, his infant church was disgraced and distracted by intestine

¹ See Hieroglyphic, Constant. Christiana, l. iv. p. 144, 145. The *Annals of Byzantium* (l. xii. c. 24) is supposed to mean the Virgin Mary.

² *Tallemant's Memoires*, tom. ix. p. 472, 473, differently collected, enlarged, and embellished, the occasional and poetical history of Gregory himself.

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faction. A stranger, who assumed the name of Maximus,¹ and the cloak of a Cynic philosopher, insinuated himself into the confidence of Gregory; deceived and abused his favourable opinion; and forming a secret connection with some bishops of Egypt, attempted, by a clandestine ordination, to supplant his patron in the episcopal seat of Constantinople. These mortifications might sometimes tempt the Cappadocian missionary to regret his obscure solitude. But his fatigues were rewarded by the daily increase of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleasure of observing, that the greater part of his numerous audience retired from his sermons, satisfied with the eloquence of the preacher,² or dissatisfied with the manifold imperfections of their faith and practice.³

Ruin of
Arianism
at Constanti-
nople,
A. D. 320,
Nov. 26.

The catholics of Constantinople were animated with joyful confidence by the baptism and edict of Theodosius; and they impatiently waited the effects of his gracious promise. Their hopes were speedily accomplished; and the emperor, as soon as he had finished the operations of the campaign, made his public entry into the capital at the head

¹ He pronounced his names *Uran* (i. e. *Uran*, p. 409) in his private; but after that quarrel, the name of Maximus was changed into that of Hieron, (*see* Jeron. *tom. i. in Catalog. Script. Eccles.* p. 204.) I touch slightly on these obscure and personal squabbles.

² Under the modest condition of *Uran*, Gregory (*tom. ii. c. 20*) describes his own success with some humble complacency. Yet it should seem, from his familiar conversation with his audient St. Jeron, (*tom. i. Epist. ad Nepotian.* p. 14), that the preacher undervalued the true value of popular applause.

³ Lucianus audientibus locutus tum erat, in the lively and judicious satire of St. Jeron.

of a victorious army. The next day after his arrival, he summoned Damophilus to his presence; and offered that Arian prelate the hard alternative of subscribing the Nicene creed, or of instantly resigning, to the orthodox believers, the use and possession of the episcopal palace, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and all the churches of Constantinople. The zeal of Damophilus, which in a catholic saint would have been justly applauded, embraced, without hesitation, a life of poverty and exile,* and his removal was immediately followed by the purification of the imperial city. The Arians might complain, with some appearance of justice, that an inconsiderable congregation of sectaries should usurp the hundred churches, which they were insufficient to fill: whilst the far greater part of the people was cruelly excluded from every place of religious worship. Theodosius was still inexorable: but as the angels who protected the catholic cause, were only visible to the eyes of faith, he prudently reinforced those heavenly legions, with the more effectual aid of temporal and carnal weapons: and the church of St. Sophia was occupied by a large body of the imperial guards. If the mind of Gregory was susceptible of pride, he must have felt a very lively satisfaction, when the emperor conducted him through the streets in solemn triumph; and, with his own hand, respectfully

* Socrates, l. v. c. 14, and Sozomen, li. vii. c. 40, relate the evangelical words and actions of Damophilus without a word of approbation. He concludes, says Socrates, that it is difficult to resist the powerful: but it was easy, and would have been profitable, to submit.

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placed him on the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople. But the saint (who had not subdued the imperfections of human virtue) was deeply affected by the mortifying consideration, that his entrance into the fold was that of a wolf, rather than of a shepherd: that the glittering arms, which surrounded his person, were necessary for his safety; and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom, as men and citizens, it was impossible for him to despise. He beheld the innumerable multitude of either sex, and of every age, who crowded the streets, the windows, and the roofs of the houses: he heard the tumultuous voice of rage, grief, astonishment, and despair; and Gregory fairly confesses, that on the memorable day of his installation, the capital of the East wore the appearance of a city taken by storm, and in the hands of a barbarian conqueror.¹ About six weeks afterwards, Theodosius declared his resolution of expelling from all the churches of his dominions, the bishops and their clergy, who should obstinately refuse to believe, or at least to profess, the doctrine of the council of Nice. His lieutenant Sapor was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a special commission, and a military force;² and this ex-

To the East,
A. D. 381,
Jan. 10.

¹ See Gregory Nazianzen, tom. ii. de Vita sui, p. 21, 22. For the sake of posterity, the bishop of Constantinople records a miraculous prodigy. In the month of November, it was a cloudy morning, but the sun broke forth, when the prelate entered the church.

² Of the three ecclesiastical historians, Theodoret alone (l. v. c. 7) has mentioned this important commission of Sapor, which Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 286) judiciously attributes, from the style of writing, to that of Theodoret.

clesinastical revolution was conducted with so much discretion and vigour, that the religion of the emperor was established, without tumult or bloodshed, in all the provinces of the East. The writings of the Arians, if they had been permitted to exist,* would perhaps contain the lamentable story of the persecution, which afflicted the church under the reign of the impious Theodosius; and the sufferings of *their* holy confessors might claim the pity of the disinterested reader. Yet there is reason to imagine, that the violence of zeal and revenge was, in some measure, eluded by the want of resistance; and that, in their adversity, the Arians displayed much less firmness, than had been exerted by the orthodox party under the reigns of Constantius and Valens. The moral character and conduct of the hostile sects appear to have been governed by the same common principles of nature and religion: but a very material circumstance may be discovered, which tended to distinguish the degrees of their theological faith. Both parties, in the schools, as well as in the temples, acknowledged and worshipped the divine majesty of Christ; and, as we are always prone to impute our own sentiments and passions to the Deity, it would be deemed more prudent and respectful to exaggerate, than to circumscribe, the adorable perfections of the Son of God. The disciple of Athanasius exulted in the proud confidence, that he had entitled himself to the divine

* I do not reckon Philostorgius, though he mentions (l. ix. c. 18) the expulsion of Demophilus. The Eusebian history has been carefully stricken through an orthodox sieve.

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favour: while the follower of Arius must have been tormented, by the secret apprehension, that he was guilty, perhaps of an unpardonable offence, by the scanty praise, and parsimonious honours, which he bestowed on the Judge of the World. The opinions of Arianism might satisfy a cold and speculative mind; but the doctrine of the Nicene Creed, most powerfully recommended by the merits of faith and devotion, was much better adapted to become popular and successful in a believing age.

The council of Constantinople, A. D. 381, May.

The hope that truth and wisdom would be found in the assemblies of the orthodox clergy, induced the emperor to convene, at Constantinople, a synod of one hundred and fifty bishops, who proceeded, without much difficulty or delay, to complete the theological system which had been established in the council of Nice. The vehement disputes of the fourth century had been chiefly employed on the nature of the Son of God: and the various opinions, which were embraced concerning the *Second*, were extended and transferred, by a natural analogy, to the *Third*, person of the Trinity.* Yet it was found, or it was thought, necessary, by the victorious adversaries of Arianism, to explain the ambiguous lan-

* The Clergy has given a curious extract (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xviii, p. 21-26) of the theological system which Gregory Nazianzen pronounced at Constantinople against the Ariens, Macedonians, &c. He tells the Macedonians, who denied the Father and the Son, without the Holy Ghost, that they might as well be styled Trichitæ or Dithiotæ. Gregory himself was almost a Trinitarian; and his assembly of bishops resembles a well-regulated

guage of some respectable doctors; to confirm the faith of the catholics; and to condemn an unpopular and inconsistent sect of Macedonians; who freely admitted that the Son was consubstantial to the Father, while they were fearful of seeming to acknowledge the existence of *Three Gods*. A final and unanimous sentence was pronounced to ratify the equal Deity of the Holy Ghost; the mysterious doctrine has been received by all the nations, and all the churches, of the Christian world; and their grateful reverence has assigned to the bishops of Theodosius, the second rank among the general councils! Their knowledge of religious truth may have been preserved by tradition, or it may have been communicated by inspiration; but the sober evidence of history will not allow much weight to the personal authority of the Fathers of Constantinople. In an age, when the ecclesiastics had scandalously degenerated from the model of apostolical purity, the most worthless and corrupt were always the most eager to frequent, and disturb, the episcopal assemblies. The conflict and fermentation of so many opposite interests and tempers inflamed the passions of the bishops; and their ruling passions were, the love of gold, and the love of dispute. Many of the same prelates who now applauded the orthodox piety of Theodosius, had repeatedly changed, with prudent flexibility, their creed

* The first general council of Constantinople now subsists in the Vatican; but the paper has long been stained, and their resolution questionable, and almost staggered, the humble Tillamont, (Memo. Eccles. torn. ix. p. 466, 502).



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 reign was the rule of their obsequious faith.
 When the emperor suspended his prevailing influ-
 ence, the tormented synod was blindly impelled,
 by the absurd or selfish motives of pride, hatred,
 and resentment. The death of Meletius, which
 happened at the council of Constantinople, pre-
 sented the most favourable opportunity of termi-
 nating the schism of Antioch, by suffering his
 aged rival, Paulinus, peaceably to end his days
 in the episcopal chair. The faith and virtues of
 Paulinus were unblemished. But his cause was
 supported by the Western churches; and the
 bishops of the synod resolved to perpetuate the
 mischiefs of discord, by the hasty ordination of a
 perjured candidate,* rather than to betray the
 imagined dignity of the East, which had been
 illustrated by the birth and death of the Son of
 God. Such unjust and disorderly proceedings
 forced the gravest members of the assembly to
 dissent and to secede; and the clamorous ma-
 jority, which remained masters of the field of
 battle, could be compared only to wasps or mag-
 pias, to a flight of cranes or to a flock of geese.[†]

* Before the death of Meletius, six or eight of his most zealous
 ecclesiastics, among whom was Flavian, had agreed, by the order of
 pope, the bishopric of Antioch, (Kilmeny, l. vii. c. 2, § 11.) *Interim*
 l. vi. c. 5). Tillmanth states it his duty to disbelieve the story, not
 he even that there are many circumstances in the life of Paulinus,
 which were inconsistent with the praises of Chrysostom, and the tra-
 dition of a saint, (Memo. Kirken, tom. 2, p. 241.)

† Consult Gregory Nazianzen, de Synodis, tom. 2, p. 21-26. His
 general and particular remarks of the clergy and their assemblies may be

A suspicion may possibly arise, that so unfavourable a picture of ecclesiastical synods has been drawn by the partial hand of some obstinate heretic, or some malicious infidel. But the name of the sincere historian who has conveyed this instructive lesson to the knowledge of posterity, must silence the impotent murmurs of superstition and bigotry. He was one of the most pious and eloquent bishops of the age; a saint and a doctor of the church: the scourge of Arianism, and the pillar of the orthodox faith; a distinguished member of the council of Constantinople, in which, after the death of Meletius, he exercised the functions of president: in a word—Gregory Nazianzen himself. The harsh and ungenerous treatment which he experienced, instead of derogating from the truth of his evidence, affords an additional proof of the spirit which actuated the deliberations of the synod. Their unanimous suffrage had confirmed the pretensions which the bishop of Constantinople derived from the choice of the people, and the approbation of the emperor. But Gregory soon became the victim of malice and envy. The bishops of the East, his strenuous adherents, provoked by his moderation

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Retreat of
Gregory
Nazianzen,
A. D. 381.

seen in form and pose, *Ann. l. art. 1. p. 33, right iv. p. 344; Ann. ii. (Ann. 21. p. 615).* Such passages are fully marked by Tillamont, and fully produced by Le Clerc.

See Gregory, *Ann. ii. de Vita eccl. p. 28-31.* The fourteenth, twenty-seventh, and thirty-second articles were pronounced in the several stages of this business. The persecution of the last, *Ann. l. p. 396,* in which he takes a solemn leave of men and angels, the city and the emperor, the East and the West, &c. is pathetic, and almost sublime.

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in the affairs of Antioch, abandoned him, without support, to the adverse faction of the Egyptians; who disputed the validity of his election, and rigorously asserted the obsolete canon, that prohibited the licentious practice of episcopal translations. The pride, or the humility, of Gregory, prompted him to decline a contest which might have been imputed to ambition and avarice; and he publicly offered, not without some mixture of indignation, to renounce the government of a church, which had been restored, and almost created, by his labours. His resignation was accepted by the synod, and by the emperor, with more readiness than he seems to have expected. At the time when he might have hoped to enjoy the fruits of his victory, his episcopal throne was filled by the senator Nectarius: and the new archbishop, accidentally recommended by his easy temper and venerable aspect, was obliged to delay the ceremony of his consecration, till he had previously despatched the rites of his baptism.* After this remarkable experience of the ingratitude of princes and prelates, Gregory retired once more to his obscure solitude of Cappadocia; where he employed the remainder of his life, about eight years, in the exercises of poetry and devotion. The title of saint has been added to

* The ecclesiastical collection of Nectarius is attested by Symeon, *Gr. tit.* c. 83; but Tallemaut observes, *AMM. Fock.* tom. ix. p. 318. *Après tout, on n'est ni Symeon ni adhérents pour tout dire qu'il y a, et surtout pour Théodore, qu'il faut nous arrêter à le décrire, qu'il se soutient, et admirable raison d'existence.*

his name; but the tenderness of his heart,^a and the elegance of his genius, reflect a more pleasing lustre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen.

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It was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the insolent reign of Arianism, or that he had abundantly revenged the injuries which the catholics sustained from the zeal of Constantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor considered every heretic as a rebel against the supreme powers of heaven, and of earth; and each of those powers might exercise their peculiar jurisdiction over the soul and body of the guilty. The decrees of the council of Constantinople had ascertained the true standard of the faith; and the ecclesiastics, who governed the conscience of Theodosius, suggested the most effectual methods of persecution. In the space of fifteen years, he promulgated at least fifteen severe edicts against the heretics;^b more especially against those who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity; and to deprive them of every hope of escape, he sternly enacted, that if any laws, or rescripts, should be alleged in their favour, the judges should consider them as the illegal productions either of fraud, or forgery. The penal statutes were directed against the ministers, the assemblies, and the persons, of the heretics; and the passions of the legislator were expressed

Edicts of Theodosius against the heretics, A. D. 380-394.

^a I can only be understood to mean, that such was his natural temper; when it was not hardened, or inflamed, by religious zeal. From his retirement, he exhorts Nestorius, to promote the union of Constantinople.

^b See the Theodosian Code, l. xvi, tit. v, leg. 8-25, with Gozzoli's commentary on such law, and his general summary, of Constantine, tom. vi, p. 104-110.

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in the language of declamation and invective. I. The heretical teachers, who usurped the sacred titles of Bishops, or Presbyters, were not only excluded from the privileges and emoluments so liberally granted to the orthodox clergy, but they were exposed to the heavy penalties of exile and confiscation, if they presumed to preach the doctrine, or to practice the rites, of their *accursed* sects. A fine of ten pounds of gold (above four hundred pounds sterling) was imposed on every person who should dare to confer, or receive, or presume, an heretical ordination: and it was reasonably expected, that if the race of pastors could be extinguished, their helpless flocks would be compelled, by ignorance and hunger, to return within the pale of the catholic church. II. The rigorous prohibition of conventicles was carefully extended to every possible circumstance, in which the heretics could assemble with the intention of worshipping God and Christ according to the dictates of their conscience. Their religious meetings, whether public or secret, by day or by night, in cities or in the country, were equally proscribed by the edicts of Theodosius; and the building or ground, which had been used for that illegal purpose, was forfeited to the imperial domain. III. It was supposed, that the error of the heretics could proceed only from the obstinate temper of their minds; and that such a temper was a fit object of censure and punishment. The anathemas of the church were fortified by a sort of civil excommunication, which separated them from their fellow-citizens, by a peculiar brand of

infamy; and this declaration of the supreme magistrate tended to justify, or at least to excuse, the insults of a fanatic populace. The sectaries were gradually disqualified for the possession of honourable, or lucrative, employments; and Theodosius was satisfied with his own justice, when he decreed, that as the Eunomians distinguished the nature of the son from that of the father, they should be incapable of making their wills, or of receiving any advantage from testamentary donations. The guilt of the Manichaean heresy was esteemed of such magnitude, that it could be expiated only by the death of the offender; and the same capital punishment was inflicted on the Audians, or *Quartodocimians*,* who should dare to perpetrate the atrocious crime, of celebrating, on an improper day, the festival of Easter. Every Roman might exercise the right of public accusation; but the office of *Inquisitors* of the Faith, a name so deservedly abhorred, was first instituted under the reign of Theodosius. Yet we are assured that the execution of his penal edicts was seldom enforced; and that the pious emperor appeared less desirous to punish, than to reclaim, or terrify, his refractory subjects.²

The theory of persecution was established by Theodosius, whose justice and piety have been applauded by the saints; but the practice of it,

Execution
of Priscil-
lian and his
associates.
A. D. 385.

* They always kept their Easter, like the Jewish Passover, on the fourteenth day of the first moon after the vernal equinox; and thus perpetually opposed the Roman church and Nicene synod, which had fixed Easter to a Sunday. Bingham's Antiquities, t. xi. c. 2, vol. II. p. 306, fol. 306.

² Schæffer, l. vii. c. 12.

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in the fullest extent, was reserved for his rival and colleague, Maximus, the first among the Christian princes, who shed the blood of his Christian subjects, on account of their religious opinions. The cause of the Priscillianists,* a recent sect of heretics, who disturbed the provinces of Spain, was transferred, by appeal, from the synod of Bourdeaux to the imperial consistory of Treves; and by the sentence of the pretorian prefect, seven persons were tortured, condemned, and executed. The first of these was Priscillian† himself, bishop of Avila,‡ in Spain; who adorned the advantages of birth and fortune, by the accomplishments of eloquence and learning. Two presbyters, and two deacons, accompanied their beloved master in his death, which they esteemed as a glorious martyrdom; and the number of religious victims was completed by the execution of Latronian, a poet, who rivalled the fame of the ancients; and of Euchrocia, a noble matron of Bourdeaux, the widow of the orator Delphi-

* See The Sacred History of Sulpicius Severus, (t. ii. p. 432-442, 444. Lugd. Bat. 1647), a correct and original writer. Dr. Lardner (Credibility, &c. part ii. vol. iv. p. 256-258) has laboured this article, with just learning, good sense, and moderation. Tillemont (Mém. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 491-517) has culled together all the dirt of the fathers; in useful revenge!

† Severus Sulpicius maximus the arch-heretic with reason and pity. Falsis profectus, et non parva studio corruptiorum optimorum ingeniorum; poëticis multa in eo actus et inopie bona curantes. Hist. Eccl. t. ii. p. 409. Even Jerome (tom. i. in Script. Eccl. p. 307) speaks with respect of Priscillian and Latronian.

‡ The bishopric of old Castile is now worth 20,000 ducats a year, according to Geography, vol. ii. p. 206; and is, therefore, much less likely to produce the author of a new library.

dias.^b Two bishops, who had embraced the sentiments of Priscillian, were condemned to a distant and dreary exile;^c and some indulgence was shewn to the meaner criminals, who assumed the merit of an early repentance. If any credit could be allowed to confessions extorted by fear or pain, and to vague reports, the offspring of malice and credulity, the heresy of the Priscillianists would be found to include the various abominations of magic, of impiety, and of lewdness.^d Priscillian, who wandered about the world in the company of his spiritual sisters, was accused of praying stark-naked in the midst of the congregation; and it was confidently asserted, that the effects of his criminal intercourse with the daughter of Euchrocia, had been suppressed, by means still more odious and criminal. But an accurate, or rather a candid, inquiry, will discover, that if the Priscillianists violated the laws of nature, it was not by the licentiousness, but by the austerity, of their lives. They absolutely condemned the use of the marriage-bed; and the peace of families was often disturbed by indiscreet separations. They enjoined, or recommended, a total abstinence from all animal food; and their

^a *Hyperbæum inulæ valur omnia religio, et diligentiæ cultu distinet.* (Parr. in Panegy. Vet. vii. 196.) Such was the idea of a heretic, though ignorant, Polytheist.

^b One of them was sent to *Sylhetum in insula quæ olim Britannia voc.* What must have been the ancient condition of the rocks of Scilly? Camden's *Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 1519.

^c The scandalous enthusiasm of Augustin, Pope Leo, &c. which Tillamont evaluates like a child, and Lardner refutes like a man, may suggest some painful suspicions in favour of the elder Gualtero.



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continual prayers, fasts, and vigils, inculcated a rule of strict and perfect devotion. The speculative tenets of the sect, concerning the person of Christ, and the nature of the human soul, were derived from the Gnostic and Manichean system; and this vain philosophy, which had been transported from Egypt to Spain, was ill adapted to the grosser spirits of the West. The obscure disciples of Priscillian suffered, languished, and gradually disappeared: his tenets were rejected by the clergy and people; but his death was the subject of a long and vehement controversy; while some arraigned, and others applauded, the justice of his sentence. It is with pleasure that we can observe the humane inconsistency of the most illustrious saints and bishops, Ambrose of Milan,* and Martin of Tours;† who, on this occasion, asserted the cause of toleration. They pitied the unhappy man, who had been executed at Treves; they refused to hold communication with their episcopal murderers; and if Martin deviated from that generous resolution, his motives were laudable, and his repentance was exemplary. The bishops of Tours and Milan pronounced, without hesitation, the eternal damnation of heretics; but they were surprised, and shocked, by the bloody image of their temporal death, and the human feelings of nature resisted

* Ambrose, *serm. de Epist. xlviii.*, p. 891.

† In the Sacred History, and the life of St. Martin, *Gregorius Turonensis* uses some caution; but he declares himself freely in the *Dialogues*, lib. 15. Martin was surprised, however, by his own resolution, and by an angel; nor could he afterwards justify himself with so much ease.

the artificial prejudices of theology. The immunity of Ambrose and Martin was confirmed by the scandalous irregularity of the proceedings against Priscillian, and his adherents. The civil and ecclesiastical ministers had transgressed the limits of their respective provinces. The secular judge had presumed to receive an appeal, and to pronounce a definitive sentence, in a matter of faith and episcopal jurisdiction. The bishops had disgraced themselves, by exercising the function of accusers in a criminal prosecution. The cruelty of Ilarius,* who beheld the tortures, and solicited the death, of the heretics, provoked the just indignation of mankind; and the vices of that profligate bishop were admitted as a proof, that his zeal was instigated by the sordid motives of interest. Since the death of Priscillian, the rude attempts of persecution have been refined and methodised in the holy office, which assigns their distinct parts to the ecclesiastical and secular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the priest to the magistrate, and by the magistrate to the executioner; and the inexorable sentence of the church, which declares the spiritual guilt of the offender, is expressed in the mild language of pity and intercession.

Among the ecclesiastics, who illustrated the reign of Theodosius, Gregory Nazianzen was distinguished by the talents of an eloquent preacher;

Ambrose,
archbishop
of Milan,
A. D. 374,
297.

* The catholic presbyter, (Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 448), and the pagan orator, (Quint. in Panegy. Vol. xii. 29), reprobate, with equal indignation, the character and conduct of Ilarius.

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the reputation of miraculous gifts added weight and dignity to the monastic virtues of Martin of Tours;^{*} but the palm of episcopal vigour and ability was justly claimed by the intrepid Ambrose.[†] He was descended from a noble family of Romans: his father had exercised the important office of pretorian prefect of Gaul: and the son, after passing through the studies of a liberal education, attained, in the regular gradation of civil honours, the station of consular of Liguria, a province which included the imperial residence of Milan. At the age of thirty-four, and before he had received the sacrament of baptism, Ambrose, to his own surprise, and to that of the world, was suddenly transformed from a governor to an archbishop. Without the least mixture, as it is said, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unanimously saluted him with the episcopal title; the concord and perseverance of their acclamations were ascribed to a preternatural impulse; and the reluctant magistrate was compelled to undertake a spiritual office, for which he was not prepared by the habits and occupations of his former life. But the active force of his genius

* The life of St. Martin, and the *Histories* concerning his miracles, contain facts adapted to the gross superstition, in a style not unworthy of the Augustan age. So natural is the alliance between good facts and good sense, that I am always astonished by this remark.

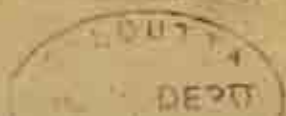
† The short and superficial life of St. Ambrose, by his disciple Paulinus, (Appendix ad edit. Benedit. p. lxxv), has the merit of original evidence. Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles. tom. x. p. 75-200*), and the Benedictine editors, *op. xxix. lxxviii*, have laboured with their usual diligence.

soon qualified him to exercise, with zeal and prudence, the duties of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, while he cheerfully renounced the vain and splendid trappings of temporal greatness, he condescended, for the good of the church, to direct the conscience of the emperors, and to controul the administration of the empire. Gratian loved and revered him as a father; and the elaborate treatise on the faith of the Trinity, was designed for the instruction of the young prince. After his tragic death, at a time when the empress Justina trembled for her own safety, and for that of her son Valentinian, the archbishop of Milan was despatched, on two different embassies, to the court of Treves. He exercised, with equal firmness and dexterity, the powers of his spiritual and political characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority and eloquence, to check the ambition of Maximus, and to protect the peace of Italy.* Ambrose had devoted his life, and his abilities, to the service of the church. Wealth was the object of his contempt; he had renounced his private patrimony; and he sold, without hesitation, the consecrated plate, for the redemption of captives. The clergy and people of Milan were attached to their archbishop; and he deserved the esteem, without soliciting the favour, or apprehending the displeasure, of his feeble sovereigns.

The government of Italy, and of the young emperor, naturally devolved to his mother Justina,

His successful opposition to the empress Justina, A. D. 385, April 2-10.

* Ambrose himself (lamb. ii. epist. xxi. p. 888-891) gives the emperor a very spirited account of his own embassy.



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a woman of beauty and spirit, but who, in the midst of an orthodox people, had the misfortune of professing the Arian heresy, which she endeavoured to instil into the mind of her son. Justin was persuaded, that a Roman emperor might claim, in his own dominions, the public exercise of his religion; and she proposed to the archbishop, as a moderate and reasonable concession, that he should resign the use of a single church, either in the city or suburbs of Milan. But the conduct of Ambrose was governed by very different principles. The palaces of the earth might indeed belong to Caesar; but the churches were the houses of God; and, within the limits of his diocese, in himself, as the lawful successor of the apostles, was the only minister of God. The privileges of Christianity, temporal as well as spiritual, were confined to the true believers; and the mind of Ambrose was satisfied, that his own theological opinions were the standard of truth and orthodoxy. The archbishop, who refused to hold any conference, or negotiation, with the instruments of Satan, declared, with modest firmness, his resolution to die a martyr, rather than to yield to the impious sacrilege; and Justin, who resented the refusal as an act of insolence and rebellion, hastily determined to exert the imperial prerogative of her son. As she desired to perform her public

* His own representation of his principles and conduct, (Ann. ii. epist. xx. xxii. xlii. p. 867-880), is one of the earliest monuments of ecclesiastical vanity. It contains two letters to his sister Marcellina, with a petition to Valentinian, and the sermon de *Humilitate* and *Procedendo*.

devotions on the approaching festival of Easter, Ambrose was ordered to appear before the council. He obeyed the summons with the respect of a faithful subject; but he was followed, without his consent, by an innumerable people: they pressed, with impetuous zeal, against the gates of the palace; and the affrighted ministers of Valentinian, instead of pronouncing a sentence of exile on the archbishop of Milan, humbly requested that he would interpose his authority, to protect the person of the emperor, and to restore the tranquillity of the capital. But the promises which Ambrose received and communicated, were soon violated by a perfidious court; and, during six of the most solemn days, which Christian piety has set apart for the exercise of religion, the city was agitated by the irregular convulsions of tumult and fanaticism. The officers of the household were directed to prepare, first, the Portian, and afterwards, the new, *Basilica*, for the immediate reception of the emperor, and his mother. The splendid canopy and hangings of the royal seat were arranged in the customary manner; but it was found necessary to defend them, by a strong guard, from the insults of the populace. The Arian ecclesiastics, who ventured to show themselves in the streets, were exposed to the most imminent danger of their lives; and Ambrose enjoyed the merit and reputation of rescuing his personal enemies from the hands of the enraged multitude.

But while he laboured to restrain the effects of their zeal, the pathetic vehemence of his sec-

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mons continually inflamed the angry and seditious temper of the people of Milan. The characters of Eve, of the wife of Job, of Jezebel, of Hecuba, were indecently applied to the mother of the emperor; and her desire to obtain a church for the Arians, was compared to the most cruel persecutions which Christianity had endured under the reign of paganism. The measures of the court served only to expose the magnitude of the evil. A fine of two hundred pounds of gold was imposed on the corporate body of merchants and manufacturers: an order was signified, in the name of the emperor, to all the officers, and inferior servants, of the courts of justice, that, during the continuance of the public disorders, they should strictly confine themselves to their houses: and the ministers of Valentinian imprudently confessed, that the most respectable part of the citizens of Milan was attached to the cause of their archbishop. He was again solicited to restore peace to his country, by a timely compliance with the will of his sovereign. The reply of Ambrose was couched in the most humble and respectful terms, which might, however, be interpreted as a serious declaration of civil war. "His life and fortune were in the hands of the emperor; but he would never betray the church of Christ, or degrade the dignity of the episcopal character. In such a cause, he was prepared to suffer whatever the malice of the demon could inflict; and he only wished to die in the presence of his faithful flock, and at the foot of the altar: he had not contributed to excite,

" but it was in the power of God alone to ap-
 " pease the rage of the people : he deprecated
 " the scenes of blood and confusion, which were
 " likely to ensue; and it was his fervent prayer,
 " that he might not survive to behold the ruin
 " of a flourishing city, and perhaps the desolation
 " of all Italy.* The obstinate bigotry of Jus-
 tina would have endangered the empire of her
 son, if, in this contest with the church and people
 of Milan, she could have depended on the active
 obedience of the troops of the palace. A large
 body of Goths had marched to occupy the *Basi-
 licæ*, which was the object of the dispute : and
 it might be expected from the Arian principles,
 and barbarous manners, of these foreign merce-
 naries, that they would not entertain any scruples
 in the execution of the most sanguinary orders.
 They were encountered, on the sacred threshold,
 by the archbishop, who, thundering against them
 a sentence of excommunication, asked them, in
 the tone of a father and a master, Whether it was
 to invade the house of God, that they had im-
 plored the hospitable protection of the republic?
 The suspense of the barbarians allowed some
 hours for a more effectual negotiation ; and the
 empress was persuaded, by the advice of her wisest
 counsellors, to leave the catholics in possession
 of all the churches of Milan : and to dissemble.

* Metz had a similar message from the queen, to request that he
 would appease the tumults of Paris. It was no longer in his power, &c.
 A quel j'ajoutai tout ce que vous pouvez vous imaginer de respect, de
 duploy, de regret, et de supplication, &c. (Mémoires, tom. 1, p. 140).
 Certainly I do not compare either the causes, or the men; yet the
 conjektor himself had some idea (p. 84) of imitating St. Ambrose.

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XXVII. till a more convenient season, her intentions of revenge. The mother of Valentinian could never forgive the triumph of Ambrose; and the royal youth uttered a passionate exclamation, that his own servants were ready to betray him into the hands of an insolent priest.

A. D. 386. The laws of the empire, some of which were inscribed with the name of Valentinian, still condemned the Arian heresy, and seemed to excuse the resistance of the catholics. By the influence of Justin, an edict of toleration was promulgated in all the provinces which were subject to the court of Milan; the free exercise of their religion was granted to those who professed the faith of Rimini; and the emperor declared, that all persons who should infringe this sacred and salutary constitution, should be capitally punished, as the enemies of the public peace.* The character and language of the archbishop of Milan may justify the suspicion, that his conduct soon afforded a reasonable ground, or at least a specious pretence, to the Arian ministers, who watched the opportunity of surprising him in some act of disobedience to a law, which he strangely represents as a law of blood and tyranny. A sentence of easy and honourable banishment was pronounced, which enjoined Ambrose to depart from Milan without delay; whilst it permitted him to choose the place of his exile, and the number of his companions. But the authority of the saints, who have preached and practised the maxims of passive loyalty,

* *See* *Gregory's Dialogues* (l. vii, c. 13) throws this humorous fact into a dark and perplexed narrative.

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[1771-1772]

appeared to Ambrose of less moment than the extreme and pressing danger of the church. He boldly refused to obey; and his refusal was supported by the unanimous consent of his faithful people.* They guarded by turns the person of their archbishop; the gates of the cathedral and the episcopal palace were strongly secured; and the imperial troops, who had formed the blockade, were unwilling to risk the attack of that impregnable fortress. The numerous poor, who had been relieved by the liberality of Ambrose, embraced the fair occasion of signalizing their zeal and gratitude; and as the patience of the multitude might have been exhausted by the length and uniformity of nocturnal vigils, he prudently introduced into the church of Milan the useful institution of a loud and regular psalmody. While he maintained this arduous contest, he was instructed, by a dream, to open the earth in a place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius,† had been deposited above three hundred years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect skeletons were found,‡ with the heads separated from their bodies, and a plentiful effusion of blood. The

* *Exortatus per populum in extremam mortis periculis cum equisque die . . .*
Non ullius inquit eventus timor tamen exortus obstitit atque suffrag.
Augustin. Confession. Lib. 1. c. 7.

† Tillmanns, *Mon. Rerum. tom. II. p. 76, 108.* Many churches in Italy, Gaul, &c. were dedicated to these unknown martyrs, of whom St. Gervase seems to have been more famous than his companion.

‡ *Examinatis enim magnitudine virorum quos, ut patet, viri sancti.*
tom. II. apud. xiii. p. 815. The size of these skeletons was extraordinary, or, at least, suited to the popular prejudice of the gradual de-

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holy relics were presented, in solemn pomp, to the veneration of the people; and every circumstance of this fortunate discovery was admirably adapted to promote the designs of Ambrose. The bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments, were supposed to contain a healing power; and their preternatural influence was communicated to the most distant objects, without losing any part of its original virtue. The extraordinary cure of a blind man,* and the reluctant confessions of several demoniacs, appeared to justify the faith and sanctity of Ambrose; and the truth of those miracles is attested by Ambrose himself, by his secretary Paulinus, and by his proselyte, the celebrated Augustin, who, at that time, professed the art of rhetoric in Milan. The reason of the present age may possibly approve the incredulity of Justin and her Arian court; who derided the theatrical representations, which were exhibited by the contrivance, and at the expence, of the archbishop.† Their effect, however, on the minds of the people was rapid and irresistible; and the feeble sovereign of Italy found himself unable to contend with the

triumph of the human stature; which has prevailed in every age since the time of Homer.

Grædique affinis indubitate esse cognoscitur.

* Ambros. tom. ii. epist. xlii. p. 873. Augustin, *Confes.* l. ii. c. 7. De Civitat. Dei, l. xxi. c. 8. Paulin. in Vita St. Ambros. c. 14. In Apparat. Benedict. p. 4. The blind man's name was Severus; he touched the holy garment, recovered his sight, and devoted the rest of his life (at least twenty-five years) to the service of the church. I should recommend this miracle to our doctors, if it did not prove the weakness of policy, as well as the Nansen creed.

† Paulin. in Vita St. Ambros. c. 3. in Apparat. Benedict. p. 2.

favourite of heaven. The powers likewise of the earth interposed in the defence of Ambrose; the disinterested advice of Theodosius was the genuine result of piety and friendship; and the mask of religious zeal concealed the hostile and ambitious designs of the tyrant of Gaul.^b

The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and prosperity, could he have contented himself with the possession of three ample countries, which now constitute the three most flourishing kingdoms of modern Europe. But the aspiring usurper, whose sordid ambition was not disguised by the love of glory and of arms, considered his actual forces as the instruments only of his future greatness, and his success was the immediate cause of his destruction. The wealth which he extorted^c from the oppressed provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was employed in levying and maintaining a formidable army of barbarians, collected, for the most part, from the fiercest nations of Germany. The conquest of Italy was the object of his hopes and preparations; and he secretly meditated the ruin of an innocent youth, whose government was abhorred and despised by his catholic subjects. But as Maximus wished to occupy, without resistance, the passes of the Alps, he received, with perfidious smiles, Domitianus of Syria, the ambassador of Valen-

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Maximus
invades
Italy,
A. D. 387,
August.

^b Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles. tom. x. p. 120, 121*. He partially allows the mediation of Theodosius; and explicitly rejects that of Maximus, though it is attested by Prosper, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

^c The violent censure of Sulpicius (*Dialog. lib. 13*) inflicts a much deeper wound than the feeble declamation of Facetus, (*lib. 21, 26*).

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linian, and pressed him to accept the aid of a considerable body of troops for the service of a Pannonian war. The penetration of Ambrose had discovered the snares of an enemy under the professions of friendship;^a but the Syrian Domitianus was corrupted, or deceived, by the liberal favour of the court of Treves; and the council of Milan obstinately rejected the suspicion of danger, with a blind confidence, which was the effect, not of courage, but of fear. The march of the auxiliaries was guided by the ambassador; and they were admitted, without distrust, into the fortresses of the Alps. But the crafty tyrant followed, with hasty and silent footsteps, in the rear; and, as he diligently intercepted all intelligence of his motions, the gleams of armour, and the dust excited by the troops of cavalry, first announced the hostile approach of a stranger to the gates of Milan. In this extremity, Justinia and her son might accuse their own imprudence, and the perfidious arts of Maximus; but they wanted time, and force, and resolution, to stand against the Gauls and Germans, either in the field, or within the walls of a large and disaffected city. Flight was their only hope, Aquileia their only refuge; and as Maximus now displayed his genuine character, the brother of Gratian might expect the same fate from the hands of the same assassin.

^a *Extremum vitæ suæ summum, pœnâ circumdare negotium, non timor cautesis of Ambrose, lib. ii. c. 20. 21. After his return from his second embassy.*

Maximus entered Milan in triumph; and if the wise archbishop refused a dangerous and criminal connection with the usurper, he might indirectly contribute to the success of his arms, by inculcating, from the pulpit, the duty of resignation, rather than that of resistance. The unfortunate Justina reached Aquileia in safety; but she distrusted the strength of the fortifications; she dreaded the event of a siege; and she resolved to implore the protection of the great Theodosius, whose power and virtue were celebrated in all the countries of the West. A vessel was secretly provided to transport the imperial family; they embarked with precipitation in one of the obscure harbours of Venetia, or Istria; traversed the whole extent of the Adriatic and Ionian seas; turned the extreme promontory of Peloponnesus; and, after a long, but successful, navigation, reposed themselves in the port of Thessalonica.

All the subjects of Valentinian deserted the cause of a prince, who, by his abdication, had absolved them from the duty of allegiance: and if the little city of Ancona, on the verge of Italy, had not presumed to stop the career of his inglorious victory, Maximus would have obtained, without a struggle, the sole possession of the western empire.

Instead of inviting his royal guests to the palace of Constantinople, Theodosius had some unknown reasons to fix their residence at Thessalonica: but

Flight of
Valen-
tinian.

Theodosius
takes arms
in the name
of Valen-
tinian.
A. D. 387.

* Barrois (A. D. 387, N. 67) speaks to this season of public displays of the pontifical garments of the archbishop.

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these reasons did not proceed from contempt or indifference, as he speedily made a visit to that city, accompanied by the greatest part of his court and senate. After the first tender expressions of friendship and sympathy, the pious emperor of the East gently admonished Justin, that the guilt of heresy was sometimes punished in this world, as well as in the next; and that the public profession of the Nicene faith would be the most efficacious step to promote the restoration of her son, by the satisfaction which it must occasion both on earth and in heaven. The momentous question of peace or war was referred, by Theodosius, to the deliberation of his council; and the arguments which might be alleged on the side of honour and justice, had acquired, since the death of Gratian, a considerable degree of additional weight. The persecution of the imperial family, to which Theodosius himself had been indebted for his fortune, was now aggravated by recent and repeated injuries. Neither oaths nor treaties could restrain the boundless ambition of Maximus; and the delay of vigorous and decisive measures, instead of prolonging the blessings of peace, would expose the eastern empire to the danger of an hostile invasion. The barbarians, who had passed the Danube, had lately assumed the character of soldiers and subjects, but their native fierceness was yet untamed; and the operations of a war, which would exercise their valour, and diminish their numbers, might tend to relieve the provinces from an intolerable oppression. Notwithstanding these specious and solid reasons,

which were approved by a majority of the council, Theodosius still hesitated, whether he should draw the sword in a contest, which could no longer admit any terms of reconciliation; and his magnanimous character was not disgraced by the apprehensions which he felt for the safety of his infant sons, and the welfare of his exhausted people. In this moment of anxious doubt, while the fate of the Roman world depended on the resolution of a single man, the charms of the princess Galla most powerfully pleaded the cause of her brother Valentinian.¹ The heart of Theodosius was softened by the tears of beauty; his affections were insensibly engaged by the graces of youth and innocence; the art of Justina managed and directed the impulse of passion; and the celebration of the royal nuptials was the assurance and signal of the civil war. The unfeeling critics, who consider every amorous weakness as an indelible stain on the memory of a great and orthodox emperor, are inclined, on this occasion, to dispute the suspicious evidence of the historian Zosimus. For my own part, I shall frankly confess, that I am willing to find, or even to seek, in the revolutions of the world, some traces of the mild and tender sentiments of domestic life; and, amidst the crowd of fierce and ambitious conquerors, I can distinguish, with peculiar com-

¹ The flight of Valentinian, and the loss of Theodosius for his sister, are related by Zosimus, (l. iv. p. 163, 164). Tillemont produces some weak and ambiguous evidence to antedate the second marriage of Theodosius, (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 240), and consequently to refuse the contents of Zosimus, but overlooks the contradictions in his own Theodosius.

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placency, a gentle hero, who may be supposed to receive his armour from the hands of love. The alliance of the Persian king was secured by the faith of treaties; the martial barbarians were persuaded to follow the standard, or to respect the frontiers, of an active and liberal monarch: and the dominions of Theodosius, from the Euphrates to the Hadriatic, resounded with the preparations of war both by land and sea. The skilful disposition of the forces of the East seemed to multiply their numbers, and distracted the attention of Maximus. He had reason to fear, that a chosen body of troops, under the command of the intrepid Arbogastes, would direct their march along the banks of the Danube, and boldly penetrate through the Rhaetian provinces into the centre of Gaul. A powerful fleet was equipped in the harbours of Greece and Epirus, with an apparent design, that as soon as a passage had been opened by a naval victory, Valentinian, and his mother, should land in Italy, proceed, without delay, to Rome, and occupy the majestic seat of religion and empire. In the meanwhile, Theodosius himself advanced at the head of a brave and disciplined army, to encounter his unworthy rival, who, after the siege of Emona, had fixed his camp in the neighbourhood of Siscia, a city of Pannonia, strongly fortified by the broad and rapid stream of the Save.

Defeat and
death of
Maximus,
A. D. 388,
June-Aug-
ust.

The veterans, who still remembered the long resistance, and successive resources, of the tyrant Magnus, might prepare themselves for the labours of three bloody campaigns. But the con-

test with his successor, who, like him, had usurped the throne of the West, was easily decided in the term of two months,* and within the space of two hundred miles. The superior genius of the emperor of the East might prevail over the feeble Maximus; who, in this important crisis, shewed himself destitute of military skill, or personal courage; but the abilities of Theodosius were seconded by the advantage which he possessed of a numerous and active cavalry. The Huns, the Alani, and, after their example, the Goths themselves, were formed into squadrons of archers; who fought on horseback, and confounded the steady valour of the Gauls and Germans, by the rapid motions of a Tartar war. After the fatigue of a long march, in the heat of summer, they spurred their foaming horses into the waters of the Save, swam the river in the presence of the enemy, and instantly charged and routed the troops who guarded the high ground on the opposite side. Marcellinus, the tyrant's brother, advanced to support them with the select cohorts, which were considered as the hope and strength of the army. The action, which had been interrupted by the approach of night, was renewed in the morning; and, after a sharp conflict, the surviving remnant of the bravest soldiers of Maximus threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror. Without suspending his march, to receive the loyal acclamations of the citizens of Emora, Theodosius pressed forwards, to ter-

* See Godfrey's *Chronology of the Lower Cæsars*, Theodosius, tom. 4. p. 119.

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minate the war by the death or captivity of his rival, who fled before him with the diligence of fear. From the summit of the Julian Alps, he descended with such incredible speed into the plain of Italy, that he reached Aquileia on the evening of the first day: and Maximus, who found himself encompassed on all sides, had scarcely time to shut the gates of the city. But the gates could not long resist the effort of a victorious enemy: and the despair, the disaffection, the indifference of the soldiers and people, hastened the downfall of the wretched Maximus. He was dragged from his throne, rudely stripped of the imperial ornaments, the robe, the diadem, and the purple slippers: and conducted, like a malefactor, to the camp and presence of Theodosius, at a place about three miles from Aquileia. The behaviour of the emperor was not intended to insult, and he shewed some disposition to pity and forgive, the tyrant of the West, who had never been his personal enemy, and was now become the object of his contempt. Our sympathy is the most forcibly excited by the misfortunes to which we are exposed: and the spectacle of a proud competitor, now prostrate at his feet, could not fail of producing very serious and solemn thoughts in the mind of the victorious emperor. But the feeble emotion of involuntary pity was checked by his regard for public justice, and the memory of Gratian: and he abandoned the victim to the pious zeal of the soldiers, who drew him out of the imperial presence, and instantly separated his head from his body. The intelligence of his defeat

and death was received with sincere, or well-dissembled, joy: his son Victor, on whom he had conferred the title of Augustus, died by the order, perhaps by the hand, of the bold Arbogastes; and all the military plans of Theodosius were successfully executed. When he had thus terminated the civil war, with less difficulty and bloodshed than he might naturally expect, he employed the winter months of his residence at Milan, to restore the state of the afflicted provinces; and early in the spring he made, after the example of Constantine and Constantius, his triumphal entry into the ancient capital of the Roman empire.^b

The orator, who may be silent without danger, may praise without difficulty, and without reluctance; and posterity will confess, that the character of Theodosius^c might furnish the subject of a sincere and ample panegyric. The wisdom of his laws, and the success of his arms,

*Virtues of
Theodosius.*

^a Besides the hints which may be gathered from ecclesiastical and civil history, Zosimus, (l. iv. p. 359-407), Orosius, (l. vi. c. 33), and Faustus, (in Panegy. Vet. xli. 36-47), supply the hints and want materials of this civil war. Ambrose (lxxx. li. epist. xl. p. 912, 923), darkly alludes to the well-known events of a magazine surprised, an action at Petovio, a battle, perhaps a naval, victory, &c. Ammianus (p. 250, edit. Talle) applauds the peculiar merit, and good fortune, of Aquilina.

^b *Quam peremptum laudare principem, tam tutum silere de peccatis, (Paneg. in Panegy. Vet. xli. 7.)* Latinus Patavinus Drepanius, a native of Gaul, pronounced this oration at Rome, (A. D. 393.) He was afterwards governor of Africa; and his friend Ammianus praises him as a poet, second only to Virgil. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 303.

^c See the fair portrait of Theodosius, by the younger Victor; the virtues are distinct, and the colours are mixed. The praise of Patavinus is too eager; and Claudian always seems afraid of exalting the father above the son.

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rendered his administration respectable in the eyes both of his subjects, and of his enemies. He loved and practised the virtues of domestic life, which seldom hold their residence in the palaces of kings. Theodosius was chaste and temperate; he enjoyed, without excess, the sensual and social pleasures of the table; and the warmth of his amorous passions was never diverted from their lawful objects. The proud titles of imperial greatness were adorned by the tender names of a faithful husband, an indulgent father; his uncle was raised, by his affectionate esteem, to the rank of a second parent; Theodosius embraced, as his own, the children of his brother and sister; and the expressions of his regard were extended to the most distant and obscure branches of his numerous kindred. His familiar friends were judiciously selected from among those persons, who, in the equal intercourse of private life, had appeared before his eyes without a mask: the consciousness of personal and superior merit enabled him to despise the accidental distinction of the purple; and he proved by his conduct, that he had forgotten all the injuries, while he most gratefully remembered all the favours and services, which he had received before he ascended the throne of the Roman empire. The serious, or lively, tone of his conversation, was adapted to the age, the rank, or the character, of his subjects whom he admitted into his society; and the affability of his manners displayed the image of his mind. Theodosius respected the simplicity of

the good and virtuous; every art, every talent, of an useful, or even of an innocent, nature, was rewarded by his judicious liberality; and, except the heretics, whom he persecuted with implacable hatred, the diffusive circle of his benevolence was circumscribed only by the limits of the human race. The government of a mighty empire may naturally suffice to occupy the time, and the abilities, of a mortal: yet the diligent prince, without aspiring to the unsuitable reputation of profound learning, always reserved some moments of his leisure for the instructive amusement of reading. History, which enlarged his experience, was his favourite study. The annals of Rome, in the long period of eleven hundred years, presented him with a various and splendid picture of human life; and it has been particularly observed, that whenever he perused the cruel acts of Cinna, of Marius, or of Sylla, he warmly expressed his generous detestation of those enemies of humanity and freedom. His disinterested opinion of past events was usefully applied as the rule of his own actions; and Theodosius has deserved the singular commendation, that his virtues always seemed to expand with his fortune: the season of his prosperity was that of his moderation; and his clemency appeared the most conspicuous after the danger and success of the civil war. The Moorish guards of the tyrant had been massacred in the first heat of the victory; and a small number of the most obnoxious criminals suffered the punishment of the law. But the emperor shewed him-

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self much more attentive to relieve the innocent, than to chastise the guilty. The oppressed subjects of the West, who would have deemed themselves happy in the restoration of their lands, were astonished to receive a sum of money equivalent to their losses; and the liberality of the conqueror supported the aged mother, and educated the orphan daughters, of *Maximes*.¹ A character thus accomplished, might almost excuse the extravagant supposition of the orator *Pacatus*, that, if the elder *Brentus* could be permitted to revisit the earth, the stern republicans would abjure, at the feet of *Theodosius*, his hatred of kings; and ingenuously confess, that such a monarch was the most faithful guardian of the happiness and dignity of the Roman people.²

Faults of
Theodo-
sius.

Yet the piercing eye of the founder of the republic must have discerned two essential imperfections, which might, perhaps, have abated his recent love of despotism. The virtuous mind of *Theodosius* was often relaxed by indolence,³ and it was sometimes inflamed by passion.⁴ In the pursuit of an important object, his active courage

¹ *Andrea*, tom. ii. epist. xi. p. 934. *Pacatus*, from the want of skill or of courage, omits this glorious circumstance.

² *Pacatus*, in *Pausanias*, *Var. vii.* 20.

³ *Zosimus*, l. iv. p. 271, 272. His partial evidence is marked by an air of confidence and truth. He observes them without affect of shill, and levity, not as a vice, but as a singularity, in the character of *Theodosius*.

⁴ This choleric temper is acknowledged, and excused, by *Victor*. See *Julian* (xvi.) *Andrea*, in decent and manly language, to his sovereign's serious impetum, spiritus et quædam colla, rita caritas et circumstantia; et quæ stimulat, in magna excelsione, ut cum irascitur, et possit. (*tom. ii. epist. ii. p. 888*.) *Theodosius* (*Chant. in P. Oson. Hist. 204, &c.*) exhorts his son to moderate his anger.

was capable of the most vigorous exertions; but, as soon as the design was accomplished, or the danger was surmounted, the hero sunk into inglorious repose; and, forgetful that the time of a prince is the property of his people, resigned himself to the enjoyment of the innocent, but trifling, pleasures of a luxurious court. The natural disposition of Theodosius was hasty and choleric; and, in a station where none could resist, and few would dissuade, the fatal consequence of his resentment, the humane monarch was justly alarmed by the consciousness of his infirmity, and of his power. It was the constant study of his life to suppress, or regulate, the intemperate sallies of passion; and the success of his efforts enhanced the merit of his clemency. But the painful virtue which claims the merit of victory, is exposed to the danger of defeat; and the reign of a wise and merciful prince was polluted by an act of cruelty, which would stain the annals of Nero or Domitian. Within the space of three years, the inconsistent historian of Theodosius must relate the generous pardon of the citizens of Antioch, and the inhuman massacre of the people of Thessalonica.

The lively impatience of the inhabitants of Antioch was never satisfied with their own situation, or with the character, and conduct, of their successive sovereigns. The Arian subjects of Theodosius deplored the loss of their churches; and, as three rival bishops disputed the throne of Antioch, the sentence which decided their pretensions

The mil-
lition of
Antioch,
A. D. 387.

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PART II.

excited the murmurs of the two unsuccessful congregations. The exigencies of the Gothic war, and the inevitable expense that accompanied the conclusion of the peace, had constrained the emperor to aggravate the weight of the public impositions; and the provinces of Asia, as they had not been involved in the distress, were the less inclined to contribute to the relief of Europe. The auspicious period now approached of the tenth year of his reign; a festival more grateful to the soldiers, who received a liberal donative, than to the subjects, whose voluntary offerings had been long since converted into an extraordinary and oppressive burden. The edicts of taxation interrupted the repose, and pleasures, of Antioch; and the tribunal of the magistrate was besieged by a suppliant crowd, who, in pathetic, but, at first, in respectful, language, solicited the redress of their grievances. They were gradually incensed by the pride of their haughty rulers, who treated their complaints as a criminal resistance; their satirical wit degenerated into sharp and angry invectives; and, from the subordinate powers of government, the invectives of the people immensely rose to attack the sacred character of the emperor himself. Their fury, provoked by a feeble opposition, discharged itself on the images of the Imperial family, which were erected as objects of public veneration, in the most conspicuous places of the city. The statues of Theodosius, of his father, of his wife Placidia, of his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, were

Fos. 20.

insolently thrown down from their pedestals; broken in pieces, or dragged with contempt through the streets; and the indignities which were offered to the representations of imperial majesty sufficiently declared the impious and treasonable wishes of the populace. The tumult was almost immediately suppressed by the arrival of a body of archers; and Antioch had leisure to reflect on the nature and consequences of her crime.¹ According to the duty of his office, the governor of the province despatched a faithful narrative of the whole transaction; while the trembling citizens intrusted the confession of their crime, and the assurance of their repentance, to the zeal of Flavian their bishop, and to the eloquence of the senator Hilarius, the friend, and, most probably, the disciple, of Libanius; whose genius, on this melancholy occasion, was not useless to his country.² But the two capitals, Antioch and Constantinople, were separated by the distance of eight hundred miles; and, notwithstanding the diligence of the imperial posts, the guilty city was severely punished by a long and dreadful interval of suspense. Every rumour agitated the hopes and fears of the Antiochians, and they heard with terror, that their sovereign,

1. The Christians and pagans agreed in believing, that the walling of Antioch was excited by the demons. A pigstole woman, says toponom. l. vii. c. 23. possessed the streets with a scourge by her back. An old man (says Libanius, Orat. vii. p. 396.) transformed himself into a girl, then a boy, &c.

2. Zosimus, in his short and dissipated account, l. iv. p. 228. 229. is certainly mistaken in sending Libanius himself to Constantinople. He was certainly in him at Antioch.

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A. D. 361.

March 22.

exasperated by the insult which had been offered to his own statues, and, more especially, to those of his beloved wife, had resolved to level with the ground the offending city: and to massacre, without distinction of age or sex, the criminal inhabitants; many of whom were actually driven, by their apprehensions, to seek a refuge in the mountains of Syria, and the adjacent desert. At length, twenty-four days after the sedition, the general Hellebicus, and Cæsarius, master of the offices, declared the will of the emperor, and the sentence of Antioch. That proud capital was degraded from the rank of a city: and the metropolis of the East, stripped of its lands, its privileges, and its revenues, was subjected, under the humiliating denomination of a village, to the jurisdiction of Laodicea.* The baths, the circus, and the theatres, were shut: and, that every source of plenty and pleasure might at the same time be intercepted, the distribution of corn was abolished, by the severe instructions of Theodosius. His commissioners then proceeded to inquire into the guilt of individuals: of those who had perpetrated, and of those who had not prevented, the destruction of the sacred statues. The tribunal of Hellebicus and Cæsarius, encompassed with

* *Libanix* (*Orat.* l. p. 6, edit. Vossii) declares, that, under such a reign, the fear of a massacre was groundless and absurd, especially in the emperor's absence: for his presence, according to the eloquent story, might have given a counter to the most bloody will.

* *Leading*, on the account, very different from Antioch, (see *North's Epock, Syria-Maced. Dissert.* iii, p. 230). The *Antiochians* were offended, that the dependent city of Seleucia should presume to intercede for them.

armed soldiers, was erected in the midst of the Forum. The noblest, and most wealthy, of the citizens of Antioch, appeared before them in chains; the examination was assisted by the use of torture, and their sentence was pronounced or suspended, according to the judgment of these extraordinary magistrates. The houses of the criminals were exposed to sale, their wives and children were suddenly reduced, from affluence and luxury, to the most abject distress; and a bloody execution was expected to conclude the horrors of a day,* which the preacher of Antioch, the eloquent Chrysostom, has represented as a lively image of the last and universal judgment of the world. But the ministers of Theodosius performed, with reluctance, the cruel task which had been assigned them; they dropped a gentle tear over the calamities of the people; and they listened with reverence to the pressing solicitations of the monks and hermits, who descended in swarms from the mountains.† Hel-
 lebiens and Caesarinus were persuaded to suspend the execution of their sentence; and it was agreed, that the former should remain at Antioch, while the latter returned, with all possible speed, to Constantinople; and presumed once more to consult the will of his sovereign. The resentment of

*Chrysostom
of Antioch.*

* As the days of the carnival depend on the movable festival of Easter, they can only be determined by the previous determination of the year. The year 357 has been preferred, after a laborious inquiry, by Tillemont, (*Hist. des Emp. rom. v. p. 141-144*); and Montfaucon, (*Chrysostom, tom. xiv. p. 163-170*).

† Chrysostom opposes their courage, which was not attended with much wit, to the cowardly flight of the Cynics.

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Theodosius had already subsided; the deputies of the people, both the bishop and the orator, had obtained a favourable audience; and the reproaches of the emperor were the complaints of injured friendship, rather than the stern menaces of pride and power. A free and general pardon was granted to the city and citizens of Antioch; the prison-doors were thrown open; and senators, who despaired of their lives, recovered the possession of their houses and estates; and the capital of the East was restored to the enjoyment of her ancient dignity and splendour. Theodosius condescended to praise the senate of Constantinople, who had generously interceded for their distressed brethren; he rewarded the eloquence of Hilarius with the government of Palestine; and dismissed the bishop of Antioch with the warmest expressions of his respect and gratitude. A thousand new statues arose to the clemency of Theodosius; the applause of his subjects was ratified by the approbation of his own heart; and the emperor confessed, that, if the exercise of justice is the most important duty, the indulgence of mercy is the most exquisite pleasure, of a sovereign.*

April 25.

The sedition of Thessalonica is ascribed to a more shameful cause, and was productive of much

Sedition
and massacre
of
Thessalonica.
A. D.
390.

* The sedition of Antioch is represented in a lively, and almost dramatic manner, by two orators, who had their respective shares of solenn and mort. See Liliandus, *Orat. civ. ar.* p. 385-420, edit. Morel. *Orat. 5.* p. 1-14, Vossii, 1754; and the timely sermon of St. John Chrysostom, *de Antiochia*, tom. II. p. 1-273, edit. Montfaucon. It is not possible to make personal acquaintance with Chrysostom; but Tillæus, (*Hist. des Evêques*, tom. v. p. 282-285, and *Thesaur.* Vite de St. Chrysostom, tom. I. p. 131-214), had read him with great accuracy and diligence.

more dreadful consequences. That great city, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by strong fortifications, and numerous garrison. Botheric, the general of those troops, and, as it should seem from his name, a barbarian, had among his slaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure desires of one of the charioteers of the Circus. The insolent and brutal lover was thrown into prison by the order of Botheric; and he sternly rejected the importunate clamours of the multitude, who, on the day of the public games, lamented the absence of their favourite; and considered the skill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The resentment of the people was embittered by some previous disputes; and, as the strength of the garrison had been drawn away for the service of the Italian war, the feeble remnant, whose numbers were reduced by desertion, could not save the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botheric, and several of his principal officers, were inhumanly murdered: their mangled bodies were dragged about the streets; and the emperor, who then resided at Milan, was surprised by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton cruelty of the people of Thessalonica. The sentence of a dispassionate judge would have inflicted a severe punishment on the authors of the crime; and the merit of Botheric might contribute to exasperate the grief and indignation of his master. The fiery and cholerick temper of Theodosius was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial inquiry.

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and he hastily resolved, that the blood of his lieutenant should be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. Yet his mind still fluctuated between the conflicts of clemency and of revenge; the zeal of the bishops had almost extorted from the reluctant emperor the promise of a general pardon; his passion was again inflamed by the flattering suggestions of his minister, Rufinus; and, after Theodosius had despatched the messengers of death, he attempted, when it was too late, to prevent the execution of his orders. The punishment of a Roman city was blindly committed to the undistinguishing sword of the barbarians; and the hostile preparations were concerted with the dark and perfidious artifice of an illegal conspiracy. The people of Thessalonica were treacherously invited, in the name of their sovereign, to the games of the Circus: and such was their insatiate avidity for those amusements, that every consideration of fear, or suspicion, was disregarded by the numerous spectators. As soon as the assembly was complete, the soldiers, who had secretly been posted round the Circus, received the signal, not of the races, but of a general massacre. The promiscuous carnage continued three hours, without discrimination of strangers or natives, of age or sex, of innocence or guilt; the most moderate accounts state the number of the slain at seven thousand; and it is affirmed by some writers, that more than fifteen thousand victims were sacrificed to the manes of Botheric. A foreign merchant, who had probably no concern in his murder, offered his own life, and all his

wealth, to supply the place of one of his two sons; but, while the father hesitated with equal tenderness, while he was doubtful to choose, and unwilling to condemn, the soldiers determined his suspense, by plunging their daggers at the same moment into the breasts of the defenceless youths. The apology of the assassins, that they were obliged to produce the prescribed number of heads, serves only to increase, by an appearance of order and design, the horrors of the massacre, which was executed by the commands of Theodosius. The guilt of the emperor is aggravated by his long and frequent residence at Thessalonica. The situation of the unfortunate city, the aspect of the streets and buildings, the dress and faces of the inhabitants, were familiar, and even present, to his imagination; and Theodosius possessed a quick and lively sense of the existence of the people whom he destroyed.*

The respectful attachment of the emperor for the orthodox clergy, had disposed him to love and admire the character of Ambrose; who united all the episcopal virtues in the most eminent degree. The friends and ministers of Theodosius imitated the example of their sovereign; and he observed, with more surprise than displeasure, that all his secret counsels were immediately com-

Influence
and em-
powerment of
Ambrose,
A. D. 386.

* The original evidence of Ambrose, (*Opus.* li. *epist.* li. p. 288); Augustine, (*de Civitat. Dei.* v. 20), and Paulinus, (*q. vii.* Ambros. A. 24), is delivered in vague expressions of horror and pity. It is illustrated by the subsequent and unequal testimonies of Sozomen, (l. vii. c. 25); Theodoret, (l. v. c. 17); Theophanes, (*Chronograph.* p. 62); Codrinius, (*q. 31*); and Zosimus, (*op. li. l. iii.* p. 34). Zosimus alone, the partial enemy of Theodosius, must irrationally pause over in silence the secret of his actions.

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municated to the archbishop; who acted from the laudable persuasion, that every measure of civil government may have some connection with the glory of God, and the interest of the true religion. The monks and populace of Callinicum, an obscure town on the frontier of Persia, excited by their own fanaticism, and by that of their bishop, had tumultuously burnt a conventicle of the Valentinians, and a synagogue of the Jews. The seditious prelate was condemned, by the magistrate of the province, either to rebuild the synagogue, or to repay the damage; and this moderate sentence was confirmed by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the archbishop of Milan. He dictated an epistle of censure and reproach, more suitable, perhaps, if the emperor had received the mark of circumcision, and renounced the faith of his baptism. Ambrose considers the toleration of the Jewish, as the persecution of the Christian, religion; boldly declares, that he himself, and every true believer, would eagerly dispute with the bishop of Callinicum the merit of the deed, and the crown of martyrdom; and laments, in the most pathetic terms, that the execution of the sentence would be fatal to the fame and salvation of Theodosius. As this private admonition did not produce an immediate effect, the archbishop, from his pulpit,* publicly addressed

* See the whole transaction in Ambrose, *trans. in epistol. lib. 2to. p. 244. & 46.* and the *augustine Pastorals. to. 2to. Bæle and Hieronymus (Marius de Firm. & xiii. p. 245. &c.)* have justly condemned the archbishop.

* His sermon is a strange allegory of Jeremiah's *rod*, of avowment, of the woman who washed and anointed the feet of Christ. But the permutation is direct and personal.

the emperor on his throne; nor would he consent to offer the oblation of the altar, till he had obtained from Theodosius a solemn and positive declaration, which secured the impunity of the bishop and monks of Callinicum. The recantation of Theodosius was sincere; and, during the term of his residence at Milan, his affection for Ambrose was continually increased by the habits of pious and familiar conversation.

When Ambrose was informed of the massacre of Thessalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He retired into the country to indulge his grief, and to avoid the presence of Theodosius. But as the archbishop was satisfied that a timid silence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he represented, in a private letter, the enormity of the crime; which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The episcopal vigour of Ambrose was tempered by prudence; and he contented himself with signifying^a an indirect sort of excommunication, by the assur-

Presence of
Theodo-
...
A. D. 390.

^a Hübner, *Episcopus, de iure persequendi*. Ambrose modestly confessed it; but he sharply reprimanded Theodosius, parent of the law, and host, who had permitted it to say, that the monks of Callinicum deserved punishment.

^b Yet, five years afterwards, when Theodosius was absent from his spiritual guide, he tolerated the Jews, and commanded the destruction of their synagogues. *Cod. Theodos.* l. xxi, tit. xii, leg. 3, with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi, p. 225.

^c Ambros. tom. ii, epist. ii, p. 387-4001. His Epistle is a masterpiece displayed on a noble subject. Ambrose could not better than he could write. His compositions are destitute of taste, or genius; without the spirit of Tertullian, the elegant elegance of Lactantius, the boldy wit of Jerom, or the grave energy of Augustin.

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ance, that he had been warned in a vision, not to offer the oblation in the name, or in the presence of, Theodosius; and by the advice, that he would confine himself to the use of prayer, without presuming to approach the altar of Christ, or to receive the holy eucharist with those hands that were still polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches, and by those of his spiritual father; and, after he had bewailed the mischievous and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded, in the accustomed manner, to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop; who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of Heaven, declared to his sovereign, that private contrition was not sufficient to atone for a public fault, or to appease the justice of the offended Deity. Theodosius humbly represented, that if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of murder, but of adultery. "You have imitated David in his crime, imitate then his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambrose. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the emperor Theodosius has been recorded as one of the most honourable events in the annals of the church. According to the mildest rules of ecclesiastical discipline, which were established in the fourth century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the penitence of twenty

years;* and as it was impossible, in the period of human life, to purge the accumulated guilt of the massacre of Thessalonica, the murderer should have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the archbishop, consulting the maxims of religious policy, granted some indulgence to the rank of his illustrious penitent, who humbled in the dust the pride of the diadem; and the public edification might be admitted as a weighty reason to abridge the duration of his punishment. It was sufficient, that the emperor of the Romans, stripped of the ensigns of royalty, should appear in a mournful and suppliant posture; and that, in the midst of the church of Milan, he should humbly solicit, with sighs and tears, the pardon of his sins.[†] In this spiritual cure, Ambrose employed the various methods of mildness and severity. After a delay of about eight months, Theodosius was restored to the communion of the faithful; and the edict, which interposes a salutary interval of thirty days between the sentence and the execution, may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his

* According to the discipline of St. Basil, (Canon lv.), the voluntary penitent was four years a communicant; *five* an heretic; *seven* in a penitents state; and *five* in a standing posture. I have the original, (Beveridge, *Monast.* tom. ii. p. 47-151), and a translation, (Sheridan, *Hist. des Sacerdotes*, tom. iv. p. 219-277), of the Canonical Epistles of St. Basil.

† The penance of Theodosius is authenticated by Ambrose, tom. vi. de *Obit. Theodosii*, c. 24, p. 1207; Augustin, *de Civitat. Dei*, v. 20, and Paulinus, *de Vit. Ambrosii*, c. 24. Sozomen is ignorant; Sozomen (l. vi. c. 23) omits; and the copious narrative of Theodoret (l. v. c. 18) must be used with precaution.

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repentance.* Posterity has applauded the virtuous firmness of the archbishop: and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles, which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws, and ministers, of an invisible Judge. "The prince," says Montesquieu, "who is actuated by the hopes and fears of religion, may be compared to a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand, of his keeper."† The motions of the royal animal will therefore depend on the inclination, and interest, of the man who has acquired such dangerous authority over him; and the priest, who holds in his hand the conscience of a king, may inflame, or moderate, his sanguinary passions. The cause of humanity, and that of persecution, have been asserted by the same Ambrose, with equal energy, and with equal success.

Generosity
of Theo-
dosius.
A. D. 388-
391.

After the defeat and death of the tyrant of Gaul, the Roman world was in the possession of Theodosius. He derived from the choice of Gratian his honourable title to the provinces of the East: he had acquired the West by the right of conquest; and the three years which he spent in Italy, were usefully employed to restore the

* Codex Theod. l. ix. tit. xi. leg. 12. The date and circumstances of this law are perplexed with difficulties; but I had myself inclined to favour the honest efforts of Theodosius, (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 371), and Pagi, (Cron. tom. i. p. 378).

† *J'en jugeais qui aime la religion, et qui la craint, et en qui est redé à la main qui le batte, et à la voix qui l'empêche.* *Couti des Loix, l. xvii. c. 2.*

authority of the laws; and to correct the abuses, which had prevailed with impunity under the usurpation of Maximus, and the minority of Valentinian. The name of Valentinian was regularly inserted in the public acts: but the tender age, and doubtful faith, of the son of Justin, appeared to require the prudent care of an orthodox guardian; and his specious ambition might have excluded the unfortunate youth, without a struggle, and almost without a murmur, from the administration, and even from the inheritance, of the empire. If Theodosius had consulted the rigid maxims of interest and policy, his conduct would have been justified by his friends; but the generosity of his behaviour on this memorable occasion has extorted the applause of his most inveterate enemies. He seated Valentinian on the throne of Milan; and, without stipulating any present or future advantages, restored him to the absolute dominion of all the provinces from which he had been driven by the arms of Maximus. To the restitution of his ample patrimony, Theodosius added the free and generous gift of the countries beyond the Alps, which his successful valour had recovered from the assassin of Gratian.¹ Satisfied with the glory which he had acquired, by revenging the death of his benefactor, and delivering the West from the yoke of tyranny, the emperor returned from Milan to

¹ *Tales erit sui corporis, sedemque dignitas, in the elegant phrase of Zosimus himself, li. iv. p. 297.* Augustin says, with more happiness of expression, *Valentinianum . . . imperatoris reuerentia restituit.*

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Constantinople; and, in the peaceful possession of the East, insensibly relapsed into his former habits of luxury and indolence. Theodosius discharged his obligation to the brother, he indulged his conjugal tenderness to the sister, of Valentinian: and posterity, which admires the pure and singular glory of his elevation, must applaud his unrivalled generosity in the use of victory.

Character
of Valenti-
nian, A. D.
391.

The empress Justina did not long survive her return to Italy: and, though she beheld the triumph of Theodosius, she was not allowed to influence the government of her son.^a The pernicious attachment to the Arian sect, which Valentinian had imbibed from her example and instructions, were soon erased by the lessons of a more orthodox education. His growing zeal for the faith of Nice, and his filial reverence for the character and authority of Ambrose, disposed the catholics to entertain the most favourable opinion of the virtues of the young emperor of the West.^b They applauded his chastity and temperance, his contempt of pleasure, his application to business, and his tender affection for his two sisters; which could not, however, seduce his impartial equity to pronounce an unjust sentence against the meanest of his subjects. But this amiable youth, before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age, was oppressed by do-

^a Sozomen, l. vii, c. 14. His chronology is very irregular.

^b See Ambrose, *De Offic. Valentinian*, c. 13, &c. p. 1179; c. 36, &c. p. 1184. When the young emperor gave an entertainment, he forced himself; he refused to see an handsome actress, &c. Since he ordered his wild horses to be killed, it is unnecessary in Philostorgius, l. xi, c. 1) to reproach him with the love of that amusement.

mestic treason; and the empire was again involved in the horrors of a civil war. Arbogastes,^a a gallant soldier of the nation of the Franks, held the second rank in the service of Gratian. On the death of his master, he joined the standard of Theodosius; contributed, by his valour and military conduct, to the destruction of the tyrant; and was appointed, after the victory, master-general of the armies of Gaul. His real merit, and apparent fidelity, had gained the confidence both of the prince and people; his boundless liberality corrupted the allegiance of the troops; and, whilst he was universally esteemed as the pillar of the state, the bold and crafty barbarian was secretly determined, either to rule, or to ruin, the empire of the West. The important commands of the army were distributed among the Franks; the creatures of Arbogastes were promoted to all the honours and offices of the civil government: the progress of the conspiracy removed every faithful servant from the presence of Valentinian; and the emperor, without power, and without intelligence, insensibly sunk into the precarious and dependant condition of a captive.^b The indignation which he expressed, though it might arise only from the rash and impatient temper of youth, may be candidly ascribed to the generous spirit of a prince, who felt that he was

^a Zosimus (l. iv, p. 376) gives the name of Theodorus. But he is detected by Socrates, (l. v, c. 25), and Orosius, (l. vii, c. 35).

^b Gregory of Tours (l. ii, c. 9, p. 135, in the second volume of the *Histories of France*) has preserved a curious fragment of Sulpicius Alexander, an historian far more valuable than himself.

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not unworthy to reign. He secretly invited the archbishop of Milan to undertake the office of a mediator: as the pledge of his sincerity, and the guardian of his safety. He contrived to apprise the emperor of the East of his helpless situation; and he declared, that, unless Theodosius could speedily march to his assistance, he must attempt to escape from the palace, or rather prison, of Vienna in Gaul, where he had imprudently fixed his residence in the midst of the hostile faction. But the hopes of relief were distant and doubtful; and, as every day furnished some new provocation, the emperor, without strength or counsel, too hastily resolved to risk an immediate contest with his powerful general. He received Arbogastes on the throne; and, as the count approached with some appearance of respect, delivered to him a paper, which dismissed him from all his employments. "My authority," replied Arbogastes, with insulting coolness, "does not depend on the smile, or the frown, of a monarch;" and he contemptuously threw the paper on the ground. The indignant monarch snatched at the sword of one of the guards, which he struggled to draw from its scabbard; and it was not without some degree of violence that he was prevented from using the deadly weapon against his enemy, or against himself. A few days after this extraordinary quarrel, in which he had exposed his resentment and his weakness, the unfortunate Valentinian was found strangled in his apartment; and some pains were employed to

His death
A. D. 392,
May 25.

disguise the manifest guilt of Arbogastes, and to persuade the world that the death of the young emperor had been the voluntary effect of his own despair.² His body was conducted with decent pomp to the sepulchre of Milan; and the archbishop pronounced a funeral oration to commemorate his virtue, and his misfortunes.³ On this occasion, the humanity of Ambrose tempted him to make a singular breach in his theological system; and to comfort the weeping sisters of Valentinian, by the firm assurance, that their pious brother, though he had not received the sacrament of baptism, was introduced, without difficulty, into the mansions of eternal bliss.⁴

The prudence of Arbogastes had prepared the success of his ambitious designs: and the provincials, in whose breasts every sentiment of patriotism or loyalty were extinguished, expected, with tame resignation, the unknown master, whom the choice of a Frank might place on the imperial throne. But some remains of pride and prejudice still opposed the elevation of Arbogastes himself; and the judicious barbarian thought it

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Corruption
of Rome.
A. D. 393.
381.

² Gieseler (*Dissertation of Primatius*, p. 429-434) has diligently collected all the circumstances of the death of Valentinian. His variations, and the ignorance of contemporary writers, prove this to be a secret.

³ De Obitu Valentinian. tom. II. p. 1173-1186. He is forced to speak a distant and obscure language; yet he is much bold, when any layman, or perhaps any other ecclesiastic, should have dared to be.

⁴ See c. 31, p. 1188; c. 33, p. 1193. Dom Chaudon, (*Hist. des Successeurs*, tom. I. p. 86), who owns that St. Ambrose most strenuously maintains the indispensability of baptism, seems to reconcile the contradiction.

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more advisable to reign under the name of some dependant Roman. He bestowed the purple on the rhetorician Eugenius;^{*} whom he had already raised from the place of his domestic secretary, to the rank of master of the offices. In the course both of his private and public service, the count had always approved the attachment and abilities of Eugenius; his learning and eloquence, supported by the gravity of his manners, recommended him to the esteem of the people; and the reluctance, with which he seemed to ascend the throne, may inspire a favourable prejudice of his virtue and moderation. The ambassadors of the new emperor were immediately despatched to the court of Theodosius, to communicate, with affected grief, the unfortunate accident of the death of Valentinian; and, without mentioning the name of Arbogastes, to request that the monarch of the East would embrace, as his lawful colleague, the respectable citizen, who had obtained the unanimous suffrage of the armies and provinces of the West.[†] Theodosius was justly provoked, that the perfidy of a barbarian should have destroyed, in a moment, the labours, and the fruit, of his former victory; and he was excited by the tears of his beloved

^{*} *Quem sibi Germanus familiam delegerat exol*, is the contemporary expression of Claudian, (*de Cons. Hon.* 74). Eugenius professed Christianity; but his secret attachment to paganism (Cassiodorus, l. vii, c. 37. Theodosius, l. 51, c. 12) is probable in a grammarian, and would excuse the dissimilarity of Zosimus, d. iv, p. 276, 277).

[†] Zosimus (l. iv, p. 276) mentions this embassy; but he is diverted by another story from relating the events.

wife,^a to revenge the fate of her unhappy brother, and once more to assert by arms the violated majesty of the throne. But as the second conquest of the West was a task of difficulty and danger, he dismissed, with splendid presents, and an ambiguous answer, the ambassadors of Eugenius; and almost two years were consumed in the preparations of the civil war. Before he formed any decisive resolution, the pious emperor was anxious to discover the will of Heaven; and as the progress of Christianity had silenced the oracles of Delphi and Dodona, he consulted an Egyptian monk, who possessed, in the opinion of the age, the gift of miracles, and the knowledge of futurity. Eutropius, one of the favourite eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, embarked for Alexandria, from whence he sailed up the Nile as far as the city of Lycopolis, or of Wolves, in the remote province of Thebais.^b In the neighbourhood of that city, and on the summit of a lofty mountain, the holy John^c had constructed, with his own hands, an humble cell, in

^a *Eutropius a vero reperiit Gallia re fœderum re soluta obsequium.* Zosm. l. 19, p. 277. He afterwards says, (p. 280), that Gallia died in childbirth; and intimates, that the delivery of her husband was extreme, but short.

^b Lycopolis is the modern Sint, or Oint, a town of Said, about the size of St. Dunys, which drives a profitable trade with the Kingdom of Senaar, and has a very convenient harbour. “*enjos portus signum virginis et serpentis.*” See d’Anville, Description de l’Egypte, p. 181; Abulfeda, Description of Egypt, p. 44, and the ancient Annals, p. 73, 92, of his editor Michaelis.

^c The life of John of Lycopolis is described by his two friends, Rufinus, (l. 11, c. 1, p. 448), and Palladius, (Hist. Lening. c. 43,

CHAP. which he had dwelt above fifty years, without
 XXVII. opening his door, without seeing the face of a woman, and without tasting any food that had been prepared by fire, or any human art. Five days of the week he spent in prayer and meditation; but on Saturday and Sundays he regularly opened a small window, and gave audience to the crowd of suppliants, who successively flowed from every part of the Christian world. The eunuch of Theodosius approached the window with respectful steps, proposed his questions concerning the event of the civil war, and soon returned with a favourable oracle, which animated the courage of the emperor by the assurance of a bloody, but infallible victory.* The accomplishment of the prediction was forwarded by all the means that human prudence could supply. The industry of the two master-generals, Stilichin and Timasius, was directed to recruit the numbers, and to revive the discipline, of the Roman legions. The formidable troops of barbarians marched under the ensigns of their national chieftains. The Iberian, the Arab, and the Goth, who gazed on each other with mutual astonishment, were enlisted in the service of the same prince; and the renowned Alaric acquired, in the school of Theodosius, the knowledge of the art of war, which he after-

p. 138), in Roessey's great Collection of the Vite Patrum. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. iv. p. 119, 120) has copied the chronology of Bede, l. i. c. 23. Orosius on Eliezer, l. i. c. 23, runs over the saint's journey; but he must necessarily describe the Egyptian dreams, and the studies of the Nile.

wards so fatally exerted for the destruction of Rome.*

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His vic-
tory over
Hugobius,
A. D. 384,
Sept. 6.

The emperor of the West, or, to speak more properly, his general Arbogastes, was instructed by the misconduct and misfortune of Maximus, how dangerous it might prove to extend the line of defence against a skilful antagonist, who was free to press, or to suspend, to contract, or to multiply, his various methods of attack.* Arbogastes fixed his station on the confines of Italy: the troops of Theodosius were permitted to occupy, without resistance, the provinces of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; and even the passages of the mountains were negligently, or perhaps artfully, abandoned, to the bold invader. He descended from the hills, and beheld, with some astonishment, the formidable camp of the Gauls and Germans, that covered with arms and tents the open country, which extends to the walls of Aquileia, and the banks of

* *Historia, l. vi. p. 283.* *Suetonius, l. vi. 10.* Alaric himself led his Gauls, 421, tredda with some complacency on his early exploits against the Romans.

† The Augustus Helios qui Solis reges: Yet his family could scarcely have proved this plebeity of being emperors.

‡ *Claudius, l. vi. c. 14.* *Caes. Brev. 11.* Both contain the military plans of the two emperors.

§ *Scythia undecq' povera*
Emulatoz: contumacia delicta: vinctula vepherata.
His nova modis perit: his quareva tarta
Provisio. His fons: vinctula vinctula fons.
His omnia vinctula: his omnia vinctula vinctula.
Quemlibet, and more poem.

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—————

the Frigidus,^b or Cold River.^c This narrow theatre of the war, circumscribed by the Alps and the Adriatic, did not allow much room for the operations of military skill: the spirit of Arbogastes would have disdained a pardon; his guilt extinguished the hope of a negotiation; and Theodosius was impatient to satisfy his glory and revenge, by the chastisement of the assassins of Valentinian. Without weighing the natural and artificial obstacles that opposed his efforts, the emperor of the East immediately attacked the fortifications of his rivals, assigned the post of honourable danger to the Goths, and cherished a secret wish, that the bloody conflict might diminish the pride and numbers of the conquerors. Ten thousand of those auxiliaries, and Baurius, general of the Iberians, died bravely on the field of battle. But the victory was not purchased by their blood: the Gauls maintained their advantage; and the approach of night protected the disorderly flight, or retreat, of the troops of Theodosius. The emperor retired to the adjacent hills; where he passed a disconsolate night, without sleep, without provisions, and without

^b The Frigidus, a small, though numerous, stream in the country of Gauria, now called the Vipera, falls into the Sontium, or Livenas, above Aquilida, some miles from the Adriatic. See *Antonine's Itinerary* and *Modern Maps*, and the *Italia Antiqua* of Cluverius, (1680) p. 289.

^c Claudius's war is intolerable; the snow was dried up; the cold grew insupportable; and the channel must have been crowded with rapids, if the current had not been swelled with blood.

hopes;^a except that strong assurance, which, under the most desperate circumstances, the independent mind may derive from the contempt of fortune and of life. The triumph of Eugenius was celebrated by the insolent and dissolute joy of his camp; whilst the active and vigilant Arbogastes secretly detached a considerable body of troops to occupy the passes of the mountains, and to encompass the rear of the eastern army. The dawn of day discovered to the eyes of Theodosius the extent and the extremity of his danger: but his apprehensions were soon dispelled, by a friendly message from the leaders of those troops, who expressed their inclination to desert the standards of the tyrant. The honourable and lucrative rewards, which they stipulated as the price of their perfidy, were granted without hesitation; and as ink and paper could not easily be procured, the emperor subscribed, on his own tablets, the ratification of the treaty. The spirit of his soldiers was revived by this reasonable reinforcement: and they again marched, with confidence, to surprise the camp of a tyrant, whose principal officers appeared to distrust, either the justice, or the success, of his arms. In the heat of the battle, a violent tempest,^b such as is often felt

^a Theodoret affirms, that St. John, and St. Philip, appeared to the waking, or sleeping, emperor, on horseback, &c. This is the first instance of apostolic chivalry, which afterwards became so popular in Spain; and in the Crusades.

^b *Te proper, gentis Aquile de monte procellos
Osculi adversus milia, revolutaque tela
Vertit in aethera, et turbine repulit hastas.
Q. puerum dilecto Dno, cui sancti ab antro*

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among the Alps, suddenly arose from the east. The army of Theodosius was sheltered by their position from the impetuosity of the wind, which blew a cloud of dust in the faces of the enemy, disordered their ranks, wrested their weapons from their hands, and diverted, or repelled, their ineffectual javelins. This accidental advantage was skilfully improved: the violence of the storm was magnified by the superstitious terrors of the Gauls; and they yielded without shame to the invisible powers of heaven, who seemed to militate on the side of the pious emperor. His victory was decisive; and the deaths of his two rivals were distinguished only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius, who had almost acquired the dominion of the world, was reduced to implore the mercy of the conqueror; and the unrelenting soldiers separated his head from his body, as he lay prostrate at the feet of Theodosius. Arbogastes, after the loss of a battle, in which he had discharged the duties of a soldier and a general, wandered several days among the mountains. But when he was convinced, that his cause was desperate, and his escape impracticable, the intrepid barbarian imitated the example of the ancient Romans, and

*Ædus armatus hegemony and militat Ædus,
Et magnam vestitus ad castra venit.*

These famous lines of Claudian (in *in Gall. Wars.* 93, *Re. A. D.* 406) are alleged by his contemporaries, Augustin and Gennet, who suppress the personality of Ædus; and add some circumstances from the information of eye-witnesses. Within four months after the victory, it was reported by Ambrose to the miraculous recovery of Maximus and Jovian.

turned his sword against his own breast. The fate of the empire was determined in a narrow corner of Italy; and the legitimate successor of the house of Valentinian embraced the archbishop of Milan, and graciously received the submission of the provinces of the West. These provinces were involved in the guilt of rebellion; while the inflexible courage of Ambrose alone had resisted the claims of successful usurpation. With a manly freedom, which might have been fatal to any other subject, the archbishop rejected the gifts of Eugenius, declined his correspondence, and withdrew himself from Milan, to avoid the odious presence of a tyrant; whose downfall he predicted in discreet and ambiguous language. The merit of Ambrose was applauded by the conqueror, who secured the attachment of the people by his alliance with the church: and the clemency of Theodosius is ascribed to the humane intercession of the archbishop of Milan.*

After the defeat of Eugenius, the merit, as well as the authority, of Theodosius, was cheerfully acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the Roman world. The experience of his past conduct encouraged the most pleasing expectations of his future reign; and the age of the emperor, which did not exceed fifty years, seemed to extend the prospect of the public felicity. His

Death of
Theodo-
sius.
A. D. 395,
Jan. 17.

* The events of this civil war are gathered from Ambrose (l. ii. epist. 161, p. 4237); Paulinus, *l. vi.* Ambrose *c.* 28-34; Augustine, *l. vi.* Clément, *l. vi.* 281; Orosius, *l. vi.* c. 35; Socrates, *l. vi.* c. 24; Theodoret, *l. i.* c. 34; Zosimus, *l. vi.* p. 281, 292; Crispian, *l. iii.* *Cons. Hist.* 63-106, in *12 Cons. Hist.* 10-117; and the *Chronicon* published by Scaliger.

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death, only four months after his victory, was considered by the people as an unforeseen and fatal event, which destroyed, in a moment, the hopes of the rising generation. But the indulgence of ease and luxury had secretly nourished the principles of disease.* The strength of Theodosius was unable to support the sudden and violent transition from the palace to the camp; and the increasing symptoms of a dropsy announced the speedy dissolution of the emperor. The opinion, and perhaps the interest, of the public had confirmed the division of the eastern and western empires; and the two royal youths, Arcadius and Honorius, who had already obtained, from the tenderness of their father, the title of Augustus, were destined to fill the thrones of Constantinople and of Rome. Those princes were not permitted to share the danger and glory of the civil war;† but as soon as Theodosius had triumphed over his unworthy rivals, he called his younger son, Honorius, to enjoy the fruits of the victory, and to receive the sceptre of the West from the hands of his dying father. The arrival of Honorius at Milan was welcomed by a splendid exhibition of the games of the Circus;

* This disease, described by Socrates II. c. 12, as the wages of war, is represented by Palladius (H. vi. c. 23) as the effect of such post-temperament, for which Plinius calls him an impatient man, Goussier, *Diocet.* p. 136.

† Zosimus supposes, that the boy Arcadius accompanied his father, H. c. 12. p. Yet the quæstio *Imperatoris* picture seems to tell that history would allow to a contemporary poet, who clearly describes the emperor's retreat, and the journey of Honorius, after the victory, (Claudian in *ut* Cass. 74-102).

and the emperor, though he was oppressed by the weight of his disorder, contributed by his presence to the public joy. But the remains of his strength were exhausted by the painful effort, which he made, to assist at the spectacles of the morning. Honorius supplied, during the rest of the day, the place of his father; and the great Theodosius expired in the ensuing night. Notwithstanding the recent animosities of a civil war, his death was universally lamented. The barbarians, whom he had vanquished, and the churchmen, by whom he had been subdued, celebrated, with loud and sincere applause, the qualities of the deceased emperor, which appeared the most valuable in their eyes. The Romans were terrified by the impending dangers of a feeble and divided administration; and every disgraceful moment of the unfortunate reigns of Arcadius and Honorius revived the memory of their irreparable loss.

In the faithful picture of the virtues of Theodosius, his imperfections have not been dissimulated: the act of cruelty, and the habits of indulgence, which tarnished the glory of one of the greatest of the Roman princes. An historian, perpetually adverse to the fame of Theodosius, has exaggerated his vices, and their pernicious effects: he boldly asserts, that every rank of subjects imitated the effeminate manners of their sovereign: that every species of corruption polluted the course of public and private life: and that the feeble restraints of order and decency were insufficient to resist the progress of that de-

*Corruption
of the
times.*

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generate spirit, which sacrifices, without a blush, the consideration of duty and interest to the base indulgence of sloth and appetite! The complaints of contemporary writers, who deplore the increase of luxury, and deprivation of manners, are commonly expressive of their peculiar temper and situation. There are few observers, who possess a clear and comprehensive view of the revolutions of society; and who are capable of discovering the nice and secret springs of action, which impel, in the same uniform direction, the blind and capricious passions of a multitude of individuals. If it can be affirmed, with any degree of truth, that the luxury of the Romans was more shameless and dissolute in the reign of Theodosius than in the age of Constantine, perhaps, or of Augustus, the alteration cannot be ascribed to any beneficial improvements, which had gradually increased the stock of national riches. A long period of calamity or decay must have checked the industry, and diminished the wealth, of the people; and their profuse luxury must have been the result of that indolent despair, which enjoys the present hour, and declines the thoughts of futurity. The uncertain condition of their property discouraged the subjects of Theodosius from engaging in those useful and laborious undertakings which require an immediate expence, and promise a slow and distant advantage. The frequent examples of ruin and desolation tempted them not to spare the remains

of a patrimony, which might every hour, become
the prey of the rapacious Goth. And the mad
prodigality which prevails in the confusion of a
shipwreck, or a siege, may serve to explain the
progress of luxury amidst the misfortunes and
terrors of a sinking nation.

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The effeminate luxury, which infected the
manners of courts and cities, had instilled a secret
and destructive poison into the camps of the
legions: and their degeneracy has been marked
by the pen of a military writer, who had accu-
rately studied the genuine and ancient principles
of Roman discipline. It is the just and important
observation of Vegetius, that the infantry was
invariably covered with defensive armour, from
the foundation of the city, to the reign of the
emperor Gratian. The relaxation of discipline,
and the disuse of exercise, rendered the soldiers
less able, and less willing, to support the fatigues
of the service: they complained of the weight of
the armour, which they seldom wore: and they
successively obtained the permission of laying
aside both their cuirasses and their helmets. The
heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword,
and the formidable pike, which had subdued the
world, insensibly dropped from their feeble hands:
As the use of the shield is incompatible with that
of the bow, they reluctantly marched into the
field: condemned to suffer, either the pain of
wounds, or the ignominy of flight, and always
disposed to prefer the more shameful alternative.
The cavalry of the Goths, the Huns, and the
Alani, had felt the benefits, and adopted the use,

The infantry
try by
aside their
armour.

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of defensive armour: and, as they excelled in the management of missile weapons, they easily overwhelmed the naked and trembling legions, whose heads and breasts were exposed, without defence, to the arrows of the barbarians. The loss of armies, the destruction of cities, and the dishonour of the Roman name, ineffectually solicited the successors of Gratian to restore the helmets and cuirasses of the infantry. The inveterated soldiers abandoned their own, and the public defence; and their pusillanimous indulgence may be considered as the immediate cause of the downfall of the empire.^a

^a Vegetius, *de Re Militari*, l. i. c. 10. The series of calamities, which he marks, compel us to believe, that the *Hiros*, to whom he ascribes the fault, is the last and most legions of the Valentinians.

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Final destruction of paganism—Introduction of the worship of saints and relics, among the Christians.

THE ruin of paganism, in the age of Theodosius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition; and may, therefore, deserve to be considered, as a singular event in the history of the human mind. The Christians, more especially the clergy, had impatiently supported the prudent delays of Constantine, and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian; nor could they deem their conquest perfect or secure, as long as their adversaries were permitted to exist. The influence, which Ambrose and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian, and the piety of Theodosius, was employed to infuse the maxims of persecution into the breasts of their imperial privy-counsellors. Two specious principles of religious jurisprudence were established, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous conclusion, against the subjects of the empire, who still adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors: *that* the magistrate is, in some measure, guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit, or to punish; and *that* the idolatrous worship of fabulous deities, and real demons, is the most abominable crime against the supreme majesty of

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The destruction
of the pagan religion, A. D.
378-392.

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the Creator. The laws of Moses, and the examples of Jewish history,* were hastily, perhaps erroneously, applied, by the clergy, to the mild and universal reign of Christianity.[†] The zeal of the emperors was excited to vindicate their own honour, and that of the Deity: and the temples of the Roman world were subverted, about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine.

State of
prosecution
at Rome.

From the age of Numa, to the reign of Gracian, the Romans preserved the regular succession of the several colleges of the sacerdotal order.[‡] Fifteen Pontiffs exercised their supreme jurisdiction over all things, and persons, that were consecrated to the service of the gods: and the various questions which perpetually arose in a loose and traditionary system, were submitted to the judgment of their holy tribunal. Fifteen grave and learned Augurs observed the face of the heavens, and prescribed the actions of heroes, according to the flight of birds. Fifteen keepers of the Sybilline books (their name of Quin-

* St. Augustine (*opus. de civitate Dei*, lib. x. c. 1008) expressly states and condemns the use of Jewish as the foundation of idolatry. The language of Julius Firmicus Maternus on the same subject (the *Errores Profani Relig.* p. 467, edit. Gronov.) is equally strenuous. *Moe illa jura* (the Mosaic Laws) *perit, nec ulla, et per quosdam antiquos profanae videtur deitas, &c.*

† Ray's *travels* ii. p. 486, in his *Discourses Philosophiques* 1704, and hence, those turbulent ages by the temporal reign of Jehovah over the Jews. The attempt is foolish.

‡ See the list of the Roman Pontiffs in *Cicero* (*de Legibus*, lib. 2. c. 11) *Large* (ii. 301), *Guypine* (*Recherches*, &c. d. 3, p. 119-129, edit. Huet), *Bayle* (*Recherches Critiques*, tom. 1, p. 1-89), and *Wesley* (vol. 1, p. 10-45). The list is the work of an English clergy, as well as of a Roman antiquary.

DECEMVIRI was derived from their number) occasionally consulted the history of future, and, as it should seem, of contingent, events. Six VESTALS devoted their virginity to the guard of the sacred fire, and of the unknown pledges of the duration of Rome: which no mortal had been suffered to behold with impunity.* Seven FIDES prepared the table of the gods, conducted the solemn procession, and regulated the ceremonies of the annual festival. The three FLAMENS of Jupiter, of Mars, and of Quirinus, were considered as the peculiar ministers of the three most powerful deities, who watched over the fate of Rome and of the universe. The KING of the SACRIFICES represented the person of Numa, and of his successors, in the religious functions, which could be performed only by royal hands. The confraternities of the SALIARS, the LUPERCALS, &c. practised such rites as might extort a smile of contempt from every reasonable man, with a lively confidence of recommending themselves to the favour of the immortal gods. The authority, which the Roman priests had formerly obtained in the councils of the republic, was gradually abolished by the establishment of monarchy, and the removal of

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.....

* These oracles, and perhaps imaginary, symbols were given forth by various fables and conjectures. It seems probable, that the Palladium was a small statue (some cubits and a half high) of Minerva, with a breast and distal; that it was usually enclosed in a cage, or turret; and that a similar breast was placed by its side, to denote its custody, or sucklings. See MONTAIGNE, *Essays*, sur les Epîtres d'Oracles, lib. 1, p. 464-50, and LEPRIUS, *Ann. lib.* p. 610, de Vindex, lib. 7, (1).

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the seat of empire. But the dignity of their sacred character was still protected by the laws and manners of their country; and they still continued, more especially the college of pontiffs, to exercise in the capital, and sometimes in the provinces, the rights of their ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. Their robes of purple, chariots of state, and sumptuous entertainments, attracted the admiration of the people; and they received, from the consecrated lands, and the public revenue, an ample stipend, which literally supported the splendour of the priesthood, and all the expences of the religious worship of the state. As the service of the altar was not incompatible with the command of armies, the Romans, after their consulships and triumphs, aspired to the place of pontiff, or of augur; the seats of Cicero* and Pompey were filled, in the fourth century, by the most illustrious members of the senate; and the dignity of their birth reflected additional splendour on their sacerdotal character. The fifteen priests, who composed the college of pontiffs, enjoyed a more distinguished rank as the companions of their sovereign; and the Christian emperors condescended to accept the robe and ensigns, which were appropriated to the office of supreme pontiff. But when Gratian ascended the throne, more scrupulous, or more enlightened,

* Cicero frankly, (ad Atticum, l. ii. epist. 20, or indirectly, (ad Familiae, l. xii. epist. 9), confesses, that the magistracy is the supreme object of his wishes. Pliny is quoted to the same effect in the *Epistola* of Cicero (l. iv. epist. 9), and the credit of tradition might be confirmed from history and poetry.

he sternly rejected those profane symbols;† applied to the service of the state, or of the church, the revenues of the priests or vestals; abolished their honours and immunities; and dissolved the ancient fabric of Roman superstition, which was supported by the opinions, and habits, of eleven hundred years. Paganism was still the constitutional religion of the senate. The hall or temple, in which they assembled, was adorned by the statue and altar of Victory:‡ a majestic female standing on a globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her out-stretched hand.§ The senators were sworn on the altar of the goddess, to observe the laws of the emperor and of the empire; and a solemn offering of wine and incense was the ordinary prelude of their public deliberations.¶ The removal of this ancient monument was the only injury which Constantius had offered to the superstition of the Romans. The altar of Victory was again restored by Julian, tolerated by Valentinian, and once more banished from the senate by the zeal of Gratian.* But the emperor yet

† Zosimus, l. iv. p. 249; *l. iii.* I have suppressed the foolish pun about *Pacificæ* and *Maximæ*.

‡ This statue was transported from Tarentum to Rome, placed in the *Curia Julia* by Cæsar, and decorated by Augustus with the spoils of Egypt.

§ Prudentius (*l. ii.*) has drawn a very awkward portrait of Victory; but the curious reader will derive some satisfaction from Montfaucon's *Antiquities*, *tom. i.* p. 241.

¶ See *Nicomachus*, *lib. Augusti*, c. 34, and the *Fastidium* of *Diary's* *Funerary*.

* These facts are mutually supported by the two admissions, *Symeon* and *Anthelm*.

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spared the statues of the gods which were exposed to the public veneration: four hundred and twenty-four temples, or chaples, still remained to satisfy the devotion of the people; and in every quarter of Rome the delicacy of the Christians was offended by the fumes of idolatrous sacrifice.¹

Petition of
the senate
for the altar
of Victory, A. D.
384

But the Christians formed the least numerous party in the senate of Rome;² and it was only by their absence, that they could express their dissent from the legal, though profane, acts of a pagan majority. In that assembly, the dying embers of freedom were, for a moment, revived and inflamed by the breath of fanaticism. Four respectable deputations were successively voted to the imperial court,³ to represent the grievances of the priesthood and the senate; and to solicit the restoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this important business was intrusted to the eloquent Symmachus,⁴ a wealthy and

¹ The *Notitia Urbis*, more recent than Constantine, does not find any Christian edifice worthy to be named among the edifices of the city. Augustine (*serm. de agn. xlvii*, p. 813) denounces the public scandals of Rome, which continually offended the eyes, the ears, and the nostrils of the faithful.

² Augustine positively asserts, in contradiction to common sense, (Marty's Works, vol. ii. p. 147,) that the Christians had a majority in the senate.

³ The first (A. D. 381) to Gratian, who refused them audience. The second (A. D. 384) to Valentinian, which the king was dispensed by Symmachus and Augustine. The third (A. D. 386) to Theodosius; and the fourth (A. D. 391) to Valentinian. Laetantius (*Historia Testimoniorum*, vol. ix. p. 312-330) briefly represents the whole transaction.

⁴ Symmachus, who was invested with all the civil and consular honours, represented the emperor under the two characters of *Patricius* *Minister*,

noble senator, who united the sacred characters of pontiff and augur, with the civil dignities of proconsul of Africa, and prefect of the city. The breast of Symmachus was animated by the warmest zeal for the cause of expiring paganism; and his religious antagonists lamented the abuse of his genius, and the inefficacy of his moral virtues.[†] The orator, whose petition is extant to the emperor Valentinian, was conscious of the difficulty and danger of the office which he had assumed. He cautiously avoids every topic which might appear to reflect on the religion of his sovereign; humbly declares, that prayers and entreaties are his only arms; and artfully draws his arguments from the schools of rhetoric, rather than from those of philosophy. Symmachus endeavours to seduce the imagination of a young prince, by displaying the attributes of the goddess of Victory; he insinuates, that the confiscation of the revenues, which were consecrated to the service of the gods, was a measure unworthy of his liberal and disinterested character; and he maintains, that the Roman sacrifices would be deprived of their force and energy, if they were no longer celebrated at the expence, as well as in the name, of the republic. Even scepticism is made to supply an apology for superstition. The great and incomprehensible

Museum, and Princeps Senectæ. See the proud inscription at the head of his works.

[†] As it may just, says Pindemonte, the Symmachus I, 6189, should dig in the mind with an instrument of gold and ivory. Even saints, and solemn sages, treat this adversary with respect and credulity.

CHAP. *secret* of the universe eludes the inquiry of man.
 XXVIII. Where reason cannot instruct, custom may be
 permitted to guide; and every nation seems to
 consult the dictates of prudence, by a faithful
 attachment to those rights, and opinions, which
 have received the sanction of ages. If those ages
 have been crowned with glory and prosperity, if
 the devout people have frequently obtained the
 blessings which they have solicited at the altars
 of the gods, it must appear still more advisable to
 persist in the same salutary practice; and not to
 risk the unknown perils that may attend any rash
 innovations. The test of antiquity and success
 was applied with singular advantage to the reli-
 gion of Numa; and ROME herself, the celestial
 genius that presided over the fates of the city, is
 introduced by the orator to plead her own cause
 before the tribunal of the emperors: "Most ex-
 "cellent princes," says the venerable matron,
 "fathers of your country! pity and respect my
 "age, which has hitherto flowed in an uninter-
 "rupted course of piety. Since I do not repent,
 "permit me to continue in the practice of my
 "ancient rites. Since I am born free, allow me
 "to enjoy my domestic institutions. This reli-
 "gion has reduced the world under my laws.
 "These rites have repelled Hannibal from the
 "city, and the Gauls from the capitol. Were
 "my gray hairs reserved for such intolerable dis-
 "grace? I am ignorant of the new system, that
 "I am required to adopt; but I am well assured,
 "that the correction of old age is always an

"ungrateful and ignominious office."⁵ The CHAP. XXVIII.
 fears of the people supplied what the discretion
 of the orator had suppressed; and the calamities,
 which afflicted, or threatened, the declining em-
 pire, were unanimously imputed, by the pagans,
 to the new religion of Christ and of Constantine.

But the hopes of Symmachius were repeatedly
 baffled by the firm and dexterous opposition of
 the archbishop of Milan; who fortified the em-
 perors against the fallacious eloquence of the ad-
 vocate of Rome. In this controversy, Ambrose
 condescends to speak the language of a philoso-
 pher, and to ask, with some contempt, why it
 should be thought necessary to introduce an ima-
 ginary and invisible power, as the cause of those
 victories, which were sufficiently explained by the
 valour and discipline of the legions. He justly
 derides the absurd reverence for antiquity, which
 could only tend to discourage the improvements
 of art, and to replunge the human race into their
 original barbarism. From thence gradually ris-
 ing to a more lofty and theological tone, he
 pronounces, that Christianity alone is the doctrine
 of truth and salvation; and that every mode of
 polytheism conducts its deluded votaries through
 the paths of error, to the abyss of eternal perdi-
 tion.

⁵ See the fifty-fourth epistle of the tenth book of Symmachius. In
 the form and disposition of his ten books of epistles, he imitated the
 younger Pliny; whose rich and varied style he was supposed, by his
 friends, to equal or surpass. Oration. *Saturnal.* l. v. c. 15. But the
 language of Symmachius consists of barren leaves, without fruits,
 and even without flowers. Few facts, and few sentiments, can be ex-
 tracted from his various correspondence.

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tion.¹ Arguments like these, when they were suggested by a favourite bishop, had power to prevent the restoration of the altar of Victory: but the same arguments full with much more energy and effect, from the mouth of a conqueror; and the gods of antiquity were dragged in triumph at the chariot-wheels of Theodosius.² In a full meeting of the senate, the emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, the important question, Whether the worship of Jupiter, or that of Christ, should be the religion of the Romans? The liberty of suffrages, which he affected to allow, was destroyed by the hopes and fears that his presence inspired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent admonition, that it might be dangerous to oppose the wishes of the monarch. On a regular division of the senate, Jupiter was condemned and degraded by the sense of a very large majority; and it is rather surprising, that any members should be found bold enough to declare, by their speeches

¹ See Ambrose, *Serm.* vi, *epist.* xvii, xviii, p. 823-825. The former of these epistles is a short exhortation; the latter is a formal reply to the petition or libel of Symmachus. The same ideas are more copiously expressed in the poetry, if it may deserve that name, of Prudentius, who composed his two books against Symmachus, O. D. 404, while that senator was still alive. It is a whimsical enough, that Montesquieu (*Considerations*, A. D. xix, *louis* (ii) p. 167) should overlook the two professed antagonists of Symmachus, and confuse himself with descending on the more remote and indirect conflict of Orator, St. Augustine, and Salvian.

² See Prudentius, (in Symmach. l. i. 343, A. 1). The Christian agrees with the pagan Zosimus, O. iv, p. 253, in placing this visit of Theodosius after the second civil war, against his victim-cousin Tyrannus, (l. i. 410). But the time and circumstances are better suited to his first triumph.

and votes, that they were still attached to the interest of an abdicated deity.¹ The hasty conversion of the senate must be attributed, either to supernatural or to sordid motives; and many of these reluctant proselytes betrayed, on every favourable occasion, their secret disposition to throw aside the mask of odious dissimulation. But they were gradually fixed in the new religion, as the cause of the ancient became more hopeless; they yielded to the authority of the emperor, to the fashion of the times, and to the entreaties of their wives and children,* who were instigated and governed by the clergy of Rome and the monks of the East. The edifying example of the Anician family was soon imitated by the rest of the nobility: the Bassi, the Paullini, the Gracchi, embraced the Christian religion; and "the luminaries of the world, the venerable assembly of Cato, (such are the high-flown expressions of Prudentius,) were impatient to strip themselves of their pontifical garment; to cast the skin of the old serpent; to assume the snowy

¹ Prudentius, after proving that the senate of the senate is declared by a legal majority, proceeds to say, (l. 103, &c.)

Adspice quoniam placet schœstia iuxta Senect.

Decemque infans Jovic pulcrum, et omne

Idolum longe purgat ab urbe fugatum.

Quæ Neat egregi sententia Principis, illis

Libera, cum pedibus, tum corde, frequentia trahunt.

Lactantius ascribes to the manuscript fathers an heathenish courage, which few of them are found to possess.

* Jerom specifies the pontiff Albinus, who was surrounded with such a believing family of children and grandchildren, as would have been sufficient to convert even Jupiter himself; an extraordinary proselyte! (tom. 4, ed. Lottum, p. 54).

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" robes of baptismal innocence ; and to humble
 " the pride of the consular fauces before the tombs
 " of the martyrs." * The citizens, who subsisted by
 their own industry, and the populace, who were
 supported by the public liberality, filled the
 churches of the Lateran, and Vatican, with an
 incessant throng of devout proselytes. The de-
 crees of the senate, which proscribed the worship
 of idols, were ratified by the general consent of
 the Romans : † the splendour of the capital was
 defaced, and the solitary temples were abandoned
 to ruin and contempt. ‡ Rome submitted to
 the yoke of the gospel ; and the vanquished
 provinces had not yet lost their reverence for the
 name and authority of Rome.

Diocle-
 tian, one of the
 emperors in
 the province
 of the
 A. D. 301.
 See

The filial piety of the emperors themselves en-
 gaged them to proceed, with some caution and
 tenderness, in the reformation of the eternal city.
 Those absolute monarchs acted with less regard
 to the prejudices of the provincials. The pious
 labour which had been suspended near twenty
 years since the death of Constantius, § was vi-

* *Bruttiorum fauces cillata, pulcherrima mundi*

Lanuvii : Constantinus vultum gratia Canopus

Consulatus huius aevum pietatis amictum

Somnus et exuvies deponebat pontificatus

The face of Pontificatus is warmed and clothed by sleep.

† Prudentius, after he has described the conversion of the senate and
 people, adds, with some truth and confidence,

Et dubitamus utrum Romanos, etiam, Christo, ducamus

In Igea Brundisio Iuxta

* *From results in the destruction of the septid, and the other tem-
 ples of Rome, Hist. l. i. p. 34 : tom. ii. p. 35.*

§ *Liberius (Orat. pro Templis, p. 40, Genes. 1634, published by
 James Gualdrop, and now extremely scarce) accuses Valentinian and
 Valens*

gorously resumed, and finally accomplished, by the zeal of Theodosius. Whilst that warlike prince yet struggled with the Goths, not for the glory, but for the safety, of the republic; he ventured to offend a considerable party of his subjects, by some acts which might perhaps secure the protection of Heaven, but which must seem rash and unseasonable in the eye of human prudence. The success of his first experiments against the pagans, encouraged the pious emperor to reiterate and enforce his edicts of proscription: the same laws which had been originally published in the provinces of the East, were applied, after the defeat of Maximus, to the whole extent of the western empire; and every victory of the orthodox Theodosius contributed to the triumph of the Christian and Catholic faith.^b He attacked superstition in her most vital part, by prohibiting the use of sacrifices, which he declared to be criminal as well as infamous; and if the terms of his edicts more strictly condemned the impious curiosity which examined the entrails of the victims, every subsequent explanation tended to involve, in the same guilt, the

Value of prohibiting sacrifices. Some partial order may have been issued by the eastern emperor; but the idea of any general law is contradicted by the silence of the Code, and the evidence of ecclesiastical history.

^b See his laws in the Theodosian Code, l. xxi. tit. x. leg. 1-11.

^c Homer's sacrifices are not accompanied with any inspection of entrails, (see Festus, Antiquitat. Homer. l. i. c. 12, 16). The Tuscan, who produced the first *Haruspex*, subjoined both the Greeks and the Romans. (Cicero de Divinatione, l. 1, 23.)

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general practice of *immolation*, which essentially constituted the religion of the pagans. As the temples had been erected for the purpose of sacrifice, it was the duty of a benevolent prince to remove from his subjects the dangerous temptation, of offending against the laws which he had enacted. A special commission was granted to Cynegius, the pretorian prefect of the East, and afterwards to the counts Jovius and Gaudentinus, two officers of distinguished rank in the West; by which they were directed to shut the temples, to seize or destroy the instruments of idolatry, to abolish the privileges of the priests, and to confiscate the consecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the church, or of the army.* Here the desolation might have stopped: and the naked edifices, which were no longer employed in the service of idolatry, might have been protected from the destructive rage of fanaticism. Many of those temples were the most splendid and beautiful monuments of Grecian architecture: and the emperor himself was interested not to deface the splendour of his own cities, or to diminish the value of his own possessions. Those stately edifices might be suffered to remain as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ. In the decline of the arts, they might be usefully converted into magazines, manufac-

* Zosimus, l. iv, p. 243, 249. Theodoret, l. v, c. 21. Justin in Chron. Pompei. Aquinas, l. iii, c. 29, apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 388, N^o. 52. Libanius (pro Templo, p. 10) labours to prove, that the commands of Theodosius were not direct and positive.

tures, or places of public assembly: and perhaps, when the walls of the temple had been sufficiently purified by holy rites, the worship of the true Deity might be allowed to expiate the ancient guilt of idolatry. But as long as they subsisted, the pagans fondly cherished the secret hope, that an auspicious revolution, a second Julian, might again restore the altars of the gods: and the earnestness with which they addressed their unavailing prayers to the throne,* increased the zeal of the Christian reformers to extirpate, without mercy, the root of superstition. The laws of the emperors exhibit some symptoms of a milder disposition:† but their cold and languid efforts were insufficient to stem the torrent of enthusiasm and rapine, which was conducted, or rather impelled, by the spiritual rulers of the church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, bishop of Tours,‡ marched, at the head of his faithful monks, to destroy the idols, the temples, and the consecrated trees of his extensive diocese: and, in the execution of this arduous task, the prudent reader will judge whether Martin was supported

* Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 8, 18. There is room to believe, that this temple of Edessa, which Theodosius wished to save for civil uses, was soon afterwards a heap of ruins, (*Liberius pro Templis*, p. 26, 27, and *Codex's* notes, p. 29).

† See this curious oration of *Liberius pro Templis*, pronounced, or rather composed, about the year 390. I have consulted, with advantage, Dr. Laidlaw's version and remarks, (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 135-163).

‡ See the life of Martin, by *Salpistris Severus*, c. 8-14. The saint once mistook (as Don Quixote might have done) an harmless funeral for an idolatrous procession, and imprudently committed a miracle.

CHAP. by the aid of miraculous powers, or of magical
 XXVIII. weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent
 Marcellus,* as he is styled by Theodoret, a bishop animated with apostolic fervour, resolved to level with the ground the stately temples within the diocese of Apamea. His attack was resisted, by the skill and solidity, with which the temple of Jupiter had been constructed. The building was seated on an eminence; on each of the four sides, the lofty roof was supported by fifteen many columns, sixteen feet in circumference; and the large stones, of which they were composed, were firmly cemented with lead and iron. The force of the strongest and sharpest tools had been tried without effect. It was found necessary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as soon as the temporary wooden props had been consumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterprise are described under the allegory of a black demon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the Christian engineers. Elated with victory, Marcellus took the field in person against the powers of darkness: a numerous troop of soldiers and gladiators marched under the episcopal banner, and he successively attacked the villages and country temples of the diocese of Apamea. Whenever any resistance or danger was apprehended, the champion of the faith, whose lameness would not allow him either to fight or fly,

* *Campania Augustina* c. 131. s. 13. & 14. *Theodoret* l. v. c. 21. &c. &c. Among these, they relate the massacre just north of Marcellus.

placed himself at a convenient distance, beyond the reach of darts: But this prudence was the occasion of his death: he was surprised and slain by a body of exasperated rustics: and the synod of the province pronounced, without hesitation, that the holy Marcellus had sacrificed his life in the cause of God. In the support of this cause, the monks, who rushed with tumultuous fury, from the desert, distinguished themselves by their zeal and diligence. They deserved the enmity of the pagans; and some of them might deserve the reproaches of avarice and intemperance: of avarice, which they gratified with holy plunder, and of intemperance, which they indulged at the expence of the people, who foolishly admired their tattered garments, loud psalmody, and artificial paleness.¹ A small number of temples was protected by the fears, the venality, the taste, or the prudence, of the civil and ecclesiastical governors. The temple of the celestial Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judiciously converted into a Christian church;² and a similar consecration has preserved inviolate the majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome.³ But in

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¹ Lactantius, *pro Templo*, p. 10-13. He calls at times black-painted men, the Christian monks, who eat more than elephants. *Fitis cyphanta? they are temperate animals.*

² *Procopius Africanus*, l. iii. c. 28, *apud* Baronius: *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 399, 397-39, &c. The temple had been shut some time, and the access to it was overgrown with herbage.

³ *Dematius, Roma Antiqua et Nova*, l. ix. c. 17, p. 448. This consecration was performed by Pope Basilide IV. I am ignorant of the *Encyclia* inscription which had preserved the Pantheon above two hundred years after the reign of Theodosius.

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almost every province of the Roman world, an army of fanatics, without authority, and without discipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants; and the ruin of the fairest structures of antiquity still displays the ravages of *these* barbarians, who alone had time and inclination to execute such laborious destruction.

The temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

In this wide and various prospect of devastation, the spectator may distinguish the ruins of the temple of Serapis, at Alexandria.* Serapis does not appear to have been one of the native gods; or monsters, who sprung from the fruitful soil of superstitious Egypt.† The first of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the mysterious stranger from the coast of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Sinope; but his attributes and his reign were so imperfectly understood, that it became a subject of dispute, whether he represented the bright orb of day, or the gloomy monarch of the subterraneous regions.‡ The Egyptians, who were obstinately devoted to the religion of their fathers, refused to admit this foreign deity within the walls of their

* Eusebius composed a short and separate history, *Utrum, in Egypt, Bacchus, item, &c.* p. 200, which had furnished materials to Socrates, *ll. v.* p. 104, Theodoret, *ll. v.* c. 32, and Rufinus, *ll. ii.* c. 17. The last, who had been at Alexandria before and after the event, may deserve the credit of an original witness.

† Gerard Vossius (*Opus*, tom. v. p. 80, and *de Idolatriâ*, l. i. c. 29) strives to support the strange notion of the fathers; that the patriarch Joseph was adored in Egypt, as the Silt Nile, and the god Serapis.

‡ Orig. *de numism. antiquis celsentis*. *Ægyptiorum ætatione æt. monum.*, *Ant. Tauri Hist.* iv. 83. The Greeks, who had travelled into Egypt, were at a guess of this new deity.

cities.³ But the obsequious priests, who were seduced by the liberality of the Ptolemies, submitted, without resistance, to the power of the god of Pontus: an honourable and domestic genealogy was provided; and this fortunate usurper was introduced into the throne and bed of Osiris,⁴ the husband of Isis, and the celestial monarch of Egypt. Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple,⁵ which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the capitol, was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mount, raised one hundred steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was strongly supported by arches, and distributed into vaults and subterraneous apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded by a quadrangular portico; the stately halls; and exquisite statues, displayed the triumph of the arts; and the treasures of ancient learning were preserved in the famous Alexandrian library, which had arisen with new splendour from its ashes.⁶ After the edicts of Theodosius

³ *Memorabilia*, Saturnal. l. 4. c. 1. Such a living fact decisively proves his foreign extraction.

⁴ At Rome, Isis and Serapis were seated in the same temple. The precedence which the queen assumed, may seem to betray her unequal alliance with the stranger of Pontus. But the superiority of the female sex was established in Egypt as a civil and religious institution, (Diogen. *facul. torn. 6. l. 1. p. 31.* edit. Wesseling;) and the same custom is observed in Plutarch's *Treatise of Isis and Osiris*, whom he identifies with Serapis.

⁵ *Ammianus*, (l. 14. c. 16.) The *Expositio totius Mundi*, (p. 8. in Hudson's *Geograph. Memoir. torn. 10.*) and *Buhhus*, (l. 6. c. 22.) celebrate the *Serapeum*, as one of the wonders of the world.

⁶ See *Memorabilia* *Patav. Rec. Inscriptions. torn. 12. p. 397.* 416.

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had severely prohibited the sacrifices of the pagans; they were still tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis; and this singular indulgence was imprudently ascribed to the superstitious terrors of the Christians themselves; as if they had feared to abolish those ancient rites, which could alone secure the inundations of the Nile, the harvests of Egypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople.¹

In final
destruction,
A. D. 392?

At that time,* the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria was filled by Theophilus,² the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold, and with blood. His pious indignation was excited by the honours of Serapis; and the insults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bacchus, convinced the pagans that he meditated a more important and dangerous enterprise. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the slightest provocation was sufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Serapis, whose strength and numbers were much inferior to those of their antagonists, rose in arms at the instigation of the philo-

The old library of the Ptolemies was totally consumed in Caesar's Alexandrian war. Saint Antony gave the whole collection of Pergamus (200,000 volumes) to Caesarea, as the foundation of the new library of Alexandria.

¹ Libanius (*pro Templo*, p. 21) indirectly provides his Christian masters 1) this insulting example.

² We may choose between the date of Maximian, (A. D. 300), or that of Porphyry, (A. D. 304). Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp. rom. v. p. 338, 339*) prefers the former, and Pagi the latter.

³ Tillemont, *Mem. Eccles. rom. d. p. 441-446*. The enmities and similes of Theophilus, a saint, as the friend of Jerome; a deacon, as the enemy of Origen; produce a sort of impartiality; yet, upon the whole, the picture is justly painted against him.

sopher Olympius,* who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of the gods. The pagan fanatics fortified themselves in the temple, or rather fortress, of Serapis; repelled the besiegers by daring sallies, and a resolute defence; and by the inhuman cruelties which they exercised on their Christian prisoners, obtained the last consolation of despair. The efforts of the prudent magistrate were usefully exerted for the establishment of a truce, till the answer of Theodosius should determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties assembled, without arms, in the principal square; and the imperial rescript was publicly read. But when a sentence of destruction against the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the Christians set up a shout of joy and exultation; whilst the unfortunate pagans, whose fury had given way to consternation, retired with hasty and silent steps, and eluded, by their flight or obscurity, the resentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demolish the temple of Serapis, without any other difficulties, than those which he found in the weight and solidity of the materials; but these obstacles proved so insuperable, that he was obliged to leave the foundations; and to content himself with reducing the edifice itself to a heap of rubbish, a part of which was soon afterwards cleared away to make room for a church erected in honour of the Christian

* Lucianus (Oratorum Testimonium, vol. ii, p. 411) has alleged a letter, thus quoted from Eusebius, or rather from Hieronymus, which shows the descent and surname Olympius, not in the light of a surname, but of a cognomen.

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martyrs. The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed; and, near twenty years afterwards, the appearance of the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every spectator, whose mind was not totally darkened by religious prejudice.* The compositions of ancient genius, so many of which have irretrievably perished, might surely have been excepted from the wreck of idolatry, for the amusement and instruction of succeeding ages; and either the zeal or the avarice of the archbishop,† might have been satiated with the rich spoils, which were the reward of his victory. While the images and vases of gold and silver were carefully melted, and those of a less valuable metal were contemptuously broken; and cast into the streets, Theophilus laboured to expose the frauds and vices of the ministers of the idols; their dexterity in the management of the loadstone: their secret methods of introducing an human actor into a hollow statue; and their scandalous abuse of the confidence of devout husbands, and unsuspecting females.‡ Charges like these may seem to deserve

* *Non rudemque armata librum, quibus scriptis, exarantibus ut a musis luminibus, vestris temporibus meruerant.* Orosius, l. vi. c. 13, p. 431, edit. Havercamp. Though a bigot, and a controversial writer, Orosius seems to blush.

† Eusebius, in the lives of Antoninus and Eledius, illustrates the insatiable rapine of Theophilus. Tillemont (Mém. Eccles. tom. xiii, p. 433) quotes an epistle of Isidore of Pelusium, which reproaches the priests with the obstinate worship of gold, the *auri sacra fides*.

‡ Rufinus names the priest of Saturn, who, by the character of the god, furnished himself with many pillars of quality; till

some degree of credit, as they are not repugnant to the crafty and interested spirit of superstition. But the same spirit is equally prone to the base practice of insulting and calumniating a fallen enemy; and our belief is naturally checked by the reflection, that it is much less difficult to invent a fictitious story, than to support a practical fraud. The colossal statue of Serapis^a was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great number of plates of different metals, artificially joined together, composed the majestic figure of the deity, who touched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. The aspect of Serapis, his sitting posture, and the sceptre, which he bore in his left hand, were extremely similar to the ordinary representations of Jupiter. He was distinguished from Jupiter by the basket, or bushel, which was placed on his head; and by the emblematic monster, which he held in his right hand: the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf. It was confidently affirmed, that if any impious hand should dare to violate the majesty of the god, the heavens and the earth would instantly

be divided himself, in a moment of transport, when he could not dis-
 pose the rest of his reign. The authentic and impartial narrative of
 Tacitus, (see Hays, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Serapis), and the
 adventures of Mandat, Joseph, Antiquitez, Justin, & still, at p. 877,
 edit. Hivercamp), may prove that such enormous frauds have been
 practised with success.

^a See the images of Serapis, in *Manfaucon*, (tom. 6. p. 297): but
 the description of Manfaucon (*Sacrae*, l. 1, c. 26) is much more pre-
 cise and satisfactory.

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return to their original chaos. An intrepid soldier, animated by zeal, and armed with a weighty battle-axe, ascended the ladder; and even the Christian multitude expected, with some anxiety, the event of the combat.* He aimed a vigorous stroke against the cheek of Serapis; the cheek fell to the ground; the thunder was still silent, and both the heavens and the earth continued to preserve their accustomed order and tranquillity. The victorious soldier repeated his blows: the huge idol was overthrown, and broken in pieces; and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. His mangled carcase was burnt in the amphitheatre, amidst the shouts of the populace; and many persons attributed their conversion to this discovery of the impotence of their tutelary deity. The popular modes of religion, that propose any visible and material objects of worship, have the advantage of adapting and familiarizing themselves to the senses of mankind: but this advantage is counterbalanced by the various and inevitable accidents to which the faith of the idolater is exposed. It is scarcely possible, that, in every disposition of mind, he should preserve his im-

* See *Lucius Annæus Seneca, motique verus*

Majestate loci, et robustæ ætate ferient

In sua credulitate religione mentis, occidit.

(*Lucan. lib. 10.*) "Is it true, said Augustus to a senator of Italy, "at whose house he supped, that the man, who gave the first blow to "the golden statue at Alexandria, was instantly deprived of his eyes, and "of his life?" "I was that man, replied the clear-sighted senator, "and you now see we are one of the legs of the golden." (*Plin. Hist. Naturæ, xxxiii. 18.*)

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placit reverence for the idols, or the relics, which the naked eye, and the profane hand, are unable to distinguish from the most common productions of art, or nature: and if, in the hour of danger, their secret and miraculous virtue does not operate for their own preservation, he scorns the vain apologies of his priests, and justly derides the object, and the folly, of his superstitious attachment. After the fall of Serapis, some hopes were still entertained by the pagans, that the Nile would refuse his annual supply to the impious masters of Egypt: and the extraordinary delay of the inundation seemed to announce the displeasure of the river-god. But this delay was soon compensated by the rapid swell of the waters. They suddenly rose to such an unusual height, as to comfort the discontented party with the pleasing expectation of a deluge: till the peaceful river again subsided to the well-known and fertilizing level of sixteen cubits, or about thirty English feet.¹

The temples of the Roman empire were deserted, or destroyed: but the ingenious superstition of the pagans still attempted to elude the laws of Theodosius, by which all sacrifices had

The pagan temples in general, A. D. 390.

¹ The History of the Reformation affords frequent examples of the sudden change from superstition to contempt.

² *Strabon*, l. xiv. c. 20. I have supplied the measure. The same standard of the inundation, and consequently of the cubit, has still been observed since the time of Herodotus. See *Frederic, in the Memoirs (Archives des Inscriptions)*, tom. xvi. p. 344-352. *Gosselin's Miscellaneous Works*, vol. i. p. 222. The Egyptian cubit is about twenty-seven inches of the English measure.

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XXVII.
[continued]

been severely prohibited. The inhabitants of the country, whose conduct was less exposed to the eye of malicious curiosity, disguised their *religions*, under the appearance of *carnival*, meetings. On the days of solemn festivals, they assembled in great numbers under the spreading shade of some consecrated trees; sheep and oxen were slaughtered and roasted; and this rural entertainment was sanctified by the use of incense, and by the hymns, which were sung in honour of the gods. But it was alleged, that, as no part of the animal was made a burnt-offering, as no altar was provided to receive the blood, and as the previous oblation of salt cakes, and the concluding ceremony of libations, were carefully omitted, these festal meetings did not involve the guests in the guilt, or penalty, of an illegal sacrifice.¹ Whatever might be the truth of the facts, or the merit of the distinction,² these vain pretences were swept away by the last edict of Theodosius: which inflicted a deadly wound on the superstition of the pagans.³ This prohibitory law is expressed in

¹ Libanius apud Tappin, p. 15, 16, 17, pleads that, as well with gods as interesting citizens. From the earliest age, such feasts had adorned the country; and Oros of Samos (Georgic 2, 100) had produced the theatre of Athens. See Gualtero, ad loc. Liban. and Cæsar. Theodos. loc. cit. p. 234.

² Hæmulus tolerated these rustic sacrifices, (A. D. 365). — "Altogether really harmless, unless till superstition can make it." But some years afterwards he found it necessary to restrain and suppress the same custom, (Cæsar. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. 1, cap. 17, 18).

³ Cæsar. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. 16, cap. 12. — Joann. (Benedictus de Episc. Hist. tit. 2, p. 134) connects, with burning wood, the whole and ornaments of this idolatrous law.

the most absolute and comprehensive terms. "It is our will and pleasure," says the emperor, "that none of our subjects, whether magistrates or private citizens, however exalted or how-ever humble may be their rank and condition, shall presume, in any city, or in any place, to worship an inanimate idol, by the sacrifice of a guiltless virgin." The act of sacrificing, and the practice of divination by the entrails of the victim, are declared (without any regard to the object of the inquiry) a crime of high treason against the state; which can be expiated only by the death of the guilty. The rites of pagan superstition, which might seem less bloody and atrocious, are abolished, as highly injurious to the truth and honour of religion; luminaries, garlands, frankincense, and libations of wine, are especially enumerated and condemned; and the harmless claims of the domestic genies, of the household gods, are included in this rigorous proscription. The use of any of these profane and illegal ceremonies, subjects the offender to the forfeiture of the house, or estate, where they have been performed; and if he has artfully chosen the property of another for the scene of his impiety, he is compelled to discharge, without delay, a heavy fine of twenty-five pounds of gold, or more than one thousand pounds sterling. A fine, not less considerable, is imposed on the connivance of the secret enemies of religion, who shall neglect the duty of their respective stations, either to reveal, or to punish, the guilt of idolatry. Such was the persecuting spirit of the laws of



lives and fortunes at the foot of their altars. But such obstinate zeal was not congenial to the loose and careless temper of polytheism. The violent and repeated strokes of the orthodox princes, were broken by the soft and yielding substance against which they were directed; and the ready obedience of the pagans protected them from the pains and penalties of the Theodosian code.¹ Instead of asserting, that the authority of the gods was superior to that of the emperor, they desisted, with a plaintive murmur, from the use of those sacred rites which their sovereign had condemned. If they were sometimes tempted, by a sally of passion, or by the hopes of concealment, to indulge their favourite superstition; their humble repentance disarmed the severity of the Christian magistrate, and they seldom refused to atone for their rashness, by submitting, with some secret reluctance, to the yoke of the gospel. The churches were filled with the increasing multitude of these unworthy proselytes, who had conformed, from temporal motives, to the reigning religion; and whilst they devoutly imitated the postures, and recited the prayers, of the faithful, they satisfied their conscience by the silent and sincere invocation of the gods of antiquity.² If the pagans wanted patience to suffer, they wanted

¹ Orosius, l. vii. c. 26, p. 331. Augustin (Hieronymus) in *Psalm* cxi. apud Lactant. *Heptate Testimonia*, vol. iv., p. 426) insinuates their corruption. "Quis enim comprehenderit aut in sacrificiis (sensu sui) agnoscere hinc profluentem salutem?"

² *Illustres ipsi Temples*, p. 17, in *marionettes*, without examining the situational conformity, and as if were theatrical play, of these hypotheses.

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spirit to resist; and the scattered myriads, who deplored the ruin of the temples, yielded, without a contest, to the fortune of their adversaries. The disorderly opposition* of the peasants of Syria, and the populace of Alexandria, to the rage of private fanaticism, was silenced by the name and authority of the emperor. The pagans of the West, without contributing to the elevation of Eugenius, disgraced, by their partial attachment, the cause and character of the usurper. The clergy vehemently exclaimed, that he aggravated the crime of rebellion by the guilt of apostacy; that, by his permission, the altar of Victory was again restored; and that the idolatrous symbols of Jupiter and Hercules were displayed in the field, against the invincible standard of the cross. But the vain hopes of the pagans were soon annihilated by the defeat of Eugenius; and they were left exposed to the resentment of the conqueror, who laboured to deserve the favour of heaven by the extirpation of idolatry.

and finally
extinguish-
ed, A. D.
390-420;
See

A nation of slaves is always prepared to applaud the clemency of their master, who, in the abuse of absolute power, does not proceed to the last extremes of injustice and oppression. Theodosius might undoubtedly have proposed to his pagan subjects the alternative of baptism or of death;

* Libanius excuses his apology, (p. 374.) by declaring to the emperor, that unless he expressly warrants the destruction of the temples, all are too apprehensive, not to see, *per se* some *discrepant*, the populus will defend themselves and the laws.

* Paulinus, in Vit. Ambros. c. 26. Augustus de Civitat. Dei, l. 5, p. 23. Theodoret, l. 1, c. 24.

and the eloquent Libanius has praised the moderation of a prince, who never enacted, by any positive law, that all his subjects should immediately embrace and practise the religion of their sovereign.* The profession of Christianity was not made an essential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of society, nor were any peculiar hardships imposed on the sectaries, who credulously received the fables of Ovid, and obstinately rejected the miracles of the gospel. The palace, the schools, the army, and the senate, were filled with declared and devout pagans: they obtained, without distinction, the civil and military honours of the empire. Theodosius distinguished his liberal regard for virtue and genius, by the consular dignity, which he bestowed on Symmachus;† and by the personal friendship which he expressed to Libanius;‡ and the two eloquent apologists of paganism were never required either to change, or to dissemble, their religious opinions. The pagans were indulged in the most licentious freedom of speech and writing: the

* Libanius imagines the form of a persecuting edict, which Theodosius might enact: *quis Temples, p. 277* is a real piece, and a strange one expostulated. "Sed princeps would have taken full notice."

† *Dionysius post meritis restructis super repugnans*

Munera, curasque totiusque domesticas

Ipse imperatorum tota comitibus, ipse tribuit

Consules

Præfatus in Symmacho, l. 611, &c.

‡ Libanius *quis Temples, p. 276* is proud that Theodosius should thus distinguish a man, who even in his presence would sweat by Jupiter. "The this presence seems to be as many than a figure of rhetoric."

CHAP. historical and philosophical remains of Eunapius,
XXVIII. Zosimus,* and the fanatic teachers of the school
of Plato, betray the most ferocious animosity, and
contain the sharpest invectives, against the senti-
ments and conduct of their victorious adversaries.
If these audacious libels were publicly known, we
must applaud the good sense of the Christian
princes, who viewed, with a smile of contempt,
the last struggles of superstition and despair.[†]
But the imperial laws, which prohibited the sacri-
fices and ceremonies of paganism, were rigidly
executed; and every hour contributed to destroy
the influence of a religion, which was supported
by custom, rather than by argument. The de-
votion of the poet, or the philosopher, may be
secretly nourished by prayer, meditation, and
study; but the exercise of public worship appears
to be the only solid foundation of the religious
sentiments of the people, which derive their force
from imitation and habit. The interruption of
that public exercise may consummate, in the
period of a few years, the important work of a
national revolution. The memory of theological
opinions cannot long be preserved, without the
artificial helps of priests, of temples, and of

* Zosimus, who styles himself Deacon and Exarchus, of the Treasury, reviles, with partial and indignant bigotry, the Christian princes, and even the father of his sovereignty. His work must have been privately circulated, since it escaped the perusal of the emperors. See the fragments of the *antiquities* of Zosimus, *post* to Eusebius, U. III. c. 10. 425, who lived till towards the end of the sixth century.

† Yet the pagans of Africa complained, that the emperors would not allow them to answer with freedom the city of God: see *Act* St. Augustin (v. 28) deny the charge.

books.* The ignorant vulgar, whose minds CHAP. XXVIII.
 are still agitated by the blind hopes and terrors
 of superstition, will be soon persuaded by their
 superiors, to direct their vows to the reigning
 deities of the age: and will insensibly imbibe an
 ardent zeal for the support and propagation of
 the new doctrine, which spiritual hunger at first
 compelled them to accept. The generation that
 arose in the world after the promulgation of the
 imperial laws, was attracted within the pale of
 the catholic church: and so rapid, yet so gentle,
 was the fall of paganism, that only twenty-eight
 years after the death of Theodosius, the faint and
 minute vestiges were no longer visible to the eye
 of the legislator.†

The ruin of the pagan religion is described by The worship of the
 Christian martyrs.
 the sophists, as a dreadful and amazing prodigy,
 which covered the earth with darkness, and re-
 stored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night:
 They relate, in solemn and pathetic strains, that
 the temples were converted into sepulchres; and
 that the holy places, which had been adorned by
 the statues of the gods, were basely polluted by
 the relics of Christian martyrs. “The monks”
 (a race of filthy animals, to whom Eunapius is

* The *Mages of Syria*, who secretly preserved the Mahometan religion, almost a century, under the tyranny of the Tricladites, possessed the *Kitan*, with the peculiar use of the Arabic tongue: See the curious and accurate history of their expulsiō in Gaidos, *Illustrations*, vol. 1, p. 1-178.

† Paganus qui superstiti, quiqueque jam nullus erat credulus, Ac. *Ed. Theodot. l. i. c. 1, tit. x, leg. 21. A. D. 441.* The younger Theodotus was afterwards satisfied, that his judgment had been somewhat premature.

CHAP. tempted to refuse the name of men):¹ are the
 XXVII. authors of the new worship, which, in the place
 of those deities, who are conceived by the
 understanding, has substituted the meanest and
 most contemptible slaves. The heads, salted
 and pickled, of those infamous malefactors,
 who, for the multitude of their crimes, have
 suffered a just and ignominious death: their
 bodies, still marked by the impression of the
 lash, and the scars of those tortures which
 were inflicted by the sentence of the magistrate:
 such (continues Eunapius) are the gods
 which the earth produces in our days: such
 are the martyrs, the supreme arbitrators of our
 prayers and petitions to the Deity, whose tombs
 are now consecrated as the objects of the ve-
 neration of the people.² Without approving
 the malice, it is natural enough to share the sur-
 prise, of the sophist, the spectator of a revolution,
 which raised those obscure victims of the laws of
 Rome, to the rank of celestial and invisible pro-
 tectors of the Roman empire. The grateful
 respect of the Christians for the martyrs of the
 faith, was exalted, by time and victory, into religi-
 ous adoration; and the most illustrious of the saints
 and prophets were deservedly associated to the ho-
 nours of the martyrs. One hundred and fifty years
 after the glorious deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul,
 the Vatican and the Ostian road were distinguish-
 ed by the tombs, or rather by the trophies, of those

¹ See Eusebius, in his life of the emperor Theodosius; in that of Theodo-
 rous he detects the ruin of paganism, and is sensible, how much more
 exposed he was to the danger.

spiritual heroes.² In the age which followed the conversion of Constantine, the emperors, the consuls, and the generals of armies, devoutly visited the sepulchres of a tent-maker and a fisherman;³ and their venerable bones were deposited under the altars of Christ, on which the bishops of the royal city continually offered the unbloody sacrifice.⁴ The new capital of the eastern world, unable to produce any ancient and domestic trophies, was enriched by the spoils of dependant provinces. The bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy, had reposed, near three hundred years, in the obscure graves, from whence they were transported, in solemn pomp, to the church of the apostles, which the magnificence of Constantine had founded on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus.⁵ About fifty years afterwards, the same banks were honoured by the presence of Samuel, the judge and prophet of the

² *Valer. Inquit. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 8, c. 13, a Romanus quidam pater, qui fuit in the time of Zephyrinus, (A. D. 202-217), is an early witness of this superstitious practice.*

³ *Cyprianus, Quod Curamus ut Deus. Tom. 12. not. edit. N. B. Linc. 1616.* For this quotation, see the XIVth's pastoral letter on the justice of the year 1118. See the curious and entertaining letters of M. Chenevix de la Loubé.

⁴ *Molt. fact. vixit Romanus apologetus? qui, apud ecclesiasticos homines, Petrus & Paulus, secundum nos, non venerant.* *etiam David, Isidorus, et immolatus crucis. Chelid. scholasticus attulit. Irenæus tom. 6. edit. N. B. p. 115.*

⁵ *Justin. Mart. 2. p. 117.* Some writers, by these arguments, which are rejected by the ecclesiastical historians. The position of St. Andrew at Patras, is ascribed to an opinion from the sports of Africa, which Hieronim. (*Against Euseb. A. D. 60, N. 24*) wishes to believe, and Tillemont is forced to reject. St. Andrew was adopted as the spiritual founder of Christianity, (*West. Review. tom. 4. p. 311-322, 329-304.*)

CHAP.
XXVIII.

General
collections.

people of Israel. His ashes, deposited in a golden vase, and covered with a silken veil, were delivered by the bishops into each other's hands. The relics of Samuel were received by the people, with the same joy and reverence which they would have shewn to the living prophet; the highways, from Palestine to the gates of Constantinople, were filled with an uninterrupted procession; and the emperor Arcadius himself, at the head of the most illustrious members of the clergy and senate, advanced to meet his extraordinary guest, who had always deserved and claimed the homage of kings.^d The example of Rome and Constantinople confirmed the faith and discipline of the catholic world. The honours of the saints and martyrs, after a feeble and ineffectual mourn of profane reason,^e were universally established; and in the age of Ambrose and Jerom, something was still deemed wanting to the sanctity of a Christian church, till it had been consecrated by some portion of holy relics, which fixed and inflamed the devotion of the faithful.

In the long period of twelve hundred years, which elapsed between the reign of Constantine and the reformation of Luther, the worship of

^d Jerom (tom. ii. p. 122) pompously describes the translation of Samuel, which is noticed in all the chronicles of the times.

^e The prodigal Vigilantius, the pretensor of his age, fairly, though inefficiently, withstood the superstition of monks, relics, sanctimony, &c. for which Jerom compares him to the Hydra, Cæterus, the Centaur, &c. and considers him only as the organ of the delusion. tom. ii. p. 129-130. Whatever will pursue the controversy of St. Jerom and Vigilantius, and St. Augustin's account of the seduction of St. Stephen, may speedily gain some idea of the spirit of the fathers.

saints and relics corrupted the pure and perfect simplicity of the Christian model: and some symptoms of degeneracy may be observed even in the first generations which adopted and cherished this pernicious innovation.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

I. The satisfactory experience, that the relics of saints were more valuable than gold or precious stones,¹ stimulated the clergy to multiply the treasures of the church. Without much regard for truth or probability, they invented names for skeletons, and actions for names. The fame of the apostles, and of the holy men who had imitated their virtues, was darkened by religious fiction. To the invincible band of genuine and primitive martyrs, they added myriads of imaginary heroes, who had never existed, except in the fancy of crafty or credulous legendaries; and there is reason to suspect, that Tours might not be the only diocese in which the bones of a malefactor were adored, instead of those of a saint.* A superstitious practice, which tended to increase the temptations of fraud, and credulity, insensibly extinguished the light of history, and of reason, in the Christian world.

I. Falsely
called
martyrs
and
saints.

II. But the progress of superstition would have been much less rapid and victorious, if the faith

II. Super-
stition.

¹ M. de Boussier (*Hist. des Monumens*, tom. iii. p. 648) has applied a similar name to the plain observation of the clergy of Angers, who credulously preserved the relics of St. Polycarp the martyr.

* Martin of Tours (*on his Life*, c. 8, by Fulgentius Bernardus) recorded one confession from the mouth of the dead man. "The relic is almost to be moved; the discovery is supposed to be miraculous." Which of the two was likely to happen most frequently?

CHAP.
XVIII.
OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE BODIES OF THE MARTYRS.

of the people had not been assisted by the sensible aid of visions and miracles, to ascertain the authenticity and virtue of the most suspicious relics. In the reign of the younger Theodosius, Lucian,^b a presbyter of Jerusalem, and the ecclesiastical minister of the village of Caphargama, about twenty miles from the city, related a very singular dream, which, to remove his doubts, had been repeated on three successive Saturdays. A venerable figure stood before him, in the silence of the night, with a long beard, a white robe, and a gold rod: announced himself by the name of Gamaliel, and revealed to the astonished presbyter, that his own corpse, with the bodies of his son Alphas, his friend Nicodemus, and the illustrious Stephen, the first martyr of the Christian faith, were secretly buried in the adjacent field. He added, with some impatience, that it was time to release himself, and his companions, from their obscure prison; that their appearance would be salutary to a distressed world: and that they had made choice of Lucian to inform the bishop of Jerusalem of their situation, and their wishes. The doubts and difficulties which still retarded this important discovery, were successively removed by new visions: and the ground

^b Lucian composed in Greek his original narrative, which has been translated by Ascham, and published by Barroius, (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 415, N^o. 7-14.) The Bénédictine edition of St. Augustin gives (at the end of the work de Civitate Dei) two several copies, with many various readings. It is the character of Orismond to be honest and impartial. The most incredible parts of the legend are omitted and corrected by Tillamont, *Œſem. Eccles.* tom. II. p. 9, &c.

was opened by the bishop, in the presence of an innumerable multitude. The coffins of Gamaliel, of his son, and of his friend, were found in regular order; but when the fourth coffin, which contained the remains of Stephen, was shown to the light, the earth trembled, and an odour, such as that of paradise, was smelt, which instantly cured the various diseases of seventy-three of the assistants. The companions of Stephen were left in their peaceful residence of Caphargamala; but the relics of the first martyr were transported, in solemn procession, to a church constructed in their honour on Mount Sim; and the minute particles of those relics, a drop of blood,¹ or the scrapings of a bone, were acknowledged, in almost every province of the Roman world, to possess a divine and miraculous virtue. The grave and learned Augustin,² whose understanding scarcely admits the excuse of credulity, has attested the innumerable prodigies which were performed in Africa by the relics of St. Stephen; and this marvellous narrative is inserted in the elaborate work of the City of God, which the bishop of Hippo designed as a solid and immortal proof of the truth of Christianity. Augustin solemnly declares, that

¹ A phial of St. Stephen's blood was annually deposited at Naples, till he was superseded by St. Januarius. Hume's Hist. of France, Vol. 10, p. 229.

² Augustin composed the two last twenty books of *City of God* in the space of thirteen years. A. D. 413-426. Tillamont. *Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins.* p. 602, &c. His learning is too often barren, and his arguments are too often his own; but the whole work claims the merit of a magnificent design, vigorously, and not unskillfully, executed.

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.....

he had selected those miracles only which were publicly certified by the persons who were either the objects, or the spectators, of the power of the martyr. Many prodigies were omitted, or forgotten; and Hippo had been less favourably treated than the other cities of the province. And yet the bishop enumerates above seventy miracles, of which three were resurrections from the dead, in the space of two years, and within the limits of his own diocese! If we enlarge our view to all the dioceses, and all the saints, of the Christian world, it will not be easy to calculate the fables, and the errors, which issued from this inexhaustible source. But we may surely be allowed to observe, that a miracle, in that age of superstition and credulity, lost its name and its merit, since it could scarcely be considered as a deviation from the ordinary, and established, laws of nature.

III. Reviv-
al of po-
lytheism.

III. The innumerable miracles, of which the tombs of the martyrs were the perpetual theatre, revealed to the pious believer the actual state and constitution of the invisible world; and his religious speculations appeared to be founded on the firm basis of fact and experience. Whatever might be the condition of vulgar souls, in the long interval between the dissolution and the resurrection of their bodies, it was evident that the

¹ See *Agrippinus de Civitate Dei*, l. xxi. c. 22, and the Appendix, which contains two books of St. Stephen's miracles, by Freddus, bishop of Paris. Vennepius (typed passage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. vii. p. 246) has preserved a thistle, or Spanish proverb, "Whosoever pre-
tends to have read all the miracles of St. Stephen, he lies."

superior spirits of the saints and martyrs did not consume that portion of their existence in silent and inglorious sleep.* It was evident, (without presuming to determine the place of their habitation, or the nature of their felicity), that they enjoyed the lively and active consciousness of their happiness, their virtue, and their powers; and that they had already secured the possession of their eternal reward. The enlargement of their intellectual faculties surpassed the measure of the human imagination; since it was proved by experience, that they were capable of hearing and understanding the various petitions of their numerous votaries; who, in the same moment of time, but in the most distant parts of the world, invoked the name and assistance of Stephen or of Martin.† The confidence of their petitioners was founded on the persuasion that the saints, who reigned with Christ, cast an eye of pity upon earth; that they were warmly interested in the prosperity of the catholic church; and that the individuals, who imitated the example of their

* Burnet (de Sancti Martinorum, p. 56-58) collects the opinions of the Fathers, as far as they touch the sleep, or repose, of human souls, till the day of judgment. He afterwards exposes, q. 31, &c. the inconsistency which must arise, if they possessed a more active and sensible existence.

† Vigilantius placed the souls of the prophets and martyrs, either in the bosom of Abraham, (in loco refrigerii), or else under the altar of God. *Non possumus tamen simul et in idem locum adesse precantes.* But Jansen (tom. ii, p. 172) shortly refutes this blasphemy. *Tu Deus hec potes? Tu apostolorum statuas hyemes, ut neque ad diem jusseris remanere exstulit, nec aut cum Dominus erit, de quibus scriptum est, Superius Agrum quocunque cadit. 34. Agnus ubique, ergo, et ille, qui cum Agno esset, ubique esse credendum erit. Et cum diabolus et 42. omnes tota vagantur in orbem, &c.*

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faith and piety, were the peculiar and favourite objects of their most tender regard. Sometimes, indeed, their friendship might be influenced by considerations of a less exalted kind: they viewed, with partial affection, the places which had been consecrated by their birth, their residence, their death, their burial, or the possession of their relics. The meaner passions of pride, avarice, and revenge, may be deemed unworthy of a celestial breast; yet the saints themselves condescended to testify their grateful approbation of the liberality of their votaries: and the sharpest bolts of punishment were hurled against those impious wretches, who violated their magnificent shrines, or disbelieved their supernatural power.* Atrocious, indeed, must have been the guilt, and strange would have been the scepticism, of those men, if they had obstinately resisted the proofs of a divine agency, which the elements, the whole range of the animal creation, and even the subtle and invisible operations of the human mind, were compelled to obey. The immediate, and almost instantaneous, effects, that were supposed to follow the prayer, or the offence, satisfied the Christians, of the ample measure of favour and authority, which the saints enjoyed in the presence of the Supreme God: and it seemed almost

* *Florus, Titulus ecc. C. III. Hierosolymorum, lib. p. 88.*

* At Moscow, the relics of St. Basilian converted, in eight days, 440 Jews to the faith; indeed, of some malicious sectaries, such as burning the synagogues, driving the charitable Jews to starve during the winter, &c. See the original letter of Severus bishop of Mironia, (not Misra) to Augustus, de U. D. D., and the judicious remarks of Damascus, *l. cit.* p. 245-251.

superfluous to inquire, whether they were continually obliged to intercede before the throne of grace; or whether they might not be permitted to exercise, according to the dictates of their benevolence and justice, the delegated powers of their subordinate ministry. The imagination, which had been raised by a painful effort to the contemplation and worship of the Universal Cause, eagerly embraced such inferior objects of adoration, as were more proportioned to its gross conceptions and imperfect faculties. The sublime and simple theology of the primitive Christians was gradually corrupted; and the monarchy of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtleties, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology, which tended to restore the reign of polytheism.³

IV. As the objects of religion were gradually reduced to the standard of the imagination, the rites and ceremonies were introduced that seemed most powerfully to affect the senses of the vulgar. If, in the beginning of the fifth century, Tertullian, or Lactantius,⁴ had been suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some

IV. Introduction of
pagan ceremonies.

³ Mr. Hume (*Essays*, vol. ii, p. 434) observes, like a philosopher, the natural rise and reflux of polytheism and theism.

⁴ D'Aul² (see the *Œuvres* Mémoires, p. 156-166) frankly avowed, with the consent of the Huguenot ministers, to allow the first 400 years on the side of faith. The Cardinal du Perron begged for forty years more, which were indifferently given. Yet neither party would here found their account in this foolish bargain.

⁵ The worship practised and inculcated by Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, &c. is so extremely pure and spiritual, that their declamations against the pagans, sometimes glance against the Jewish ceremonies,

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popular saint, or martyr;⁵ they would have gazed with astonishment, and indignation, on the profane spectacle, which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they must have been offended by the smoke of incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffused, at noon-day, a gawdy, superfluous, and, in their opinion, a sacrilegious light. If they approached the balustrade of the altar, they made their way through the prostrate crowd, consisting, for the most part, of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the vigil of the feast; and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism, and, perhaps, of wine. Their devout kisses were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the sacred edifice; and their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their church, to the bones, the blood, or the ashes of the saint, which were usually concealed, by a linen or silken veil, from the eyes of the vulgar. The Christians frequented the tombs of the martyrs, in the hope of obtaining, from their powerful intercession, every sort of spiritual, but more especially of temporal, blessings. They implored the preservation of their health, or the cure of their infirmities;

⁵ Faustus the Manichean accuses the catholics of idleness. *Veneramus idola in martyres . . . quoniam totis sensibus colimus*. M. de Beausobre, (*Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, tom. II. p. 678-700), a protestant, but a philosopher, has represented, with candour and learning, the introduction of Christian idolatry in the fourth and fifth centuries.

the fruitfulness of their barren wives, or the safety and happiness of their children. Whenever they undertook any distant or dangerous journey, they requested, that the holy martyrs would be their guides and protectors on the road; and if they returned, without having experienced any misfortune, they again hastened to the tombs of the martyrs, to celebrate, with grateful thank-givings, their obligations to the memory and relics of those heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with symbols of the favours which they had received; eyes, and hands, and feet, of gold and silver; and eulogizing pictures, which could not long escape the abuse of indiscreet or idolatrous devotion, represented the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar saint. The same uniform original spirit of superstition might suggest, in the most distant ages and countries, the same methods of deceiving the credulity, and of affecting the senses, of mankind;* but it must ingenuously be confessed, that the ministers of the catholic church imitated the profane model, which they were impatient to destroy. The most respectable bishops had persuaded themselves, that the ignorant rustics would more cheerfully renounce the superstitions of paganism, if they found some resemblance, some compensation in

* The resemblance of superstition, which could not be imitated, might be traced from Japan to Mexico. Warburton has seized this idea, which he distorts, by rendering it too general and absolute (*Works* London, vol. iv, p. 426, &c.).

CHAP. the bosom of Christianity. The religion of Con-
XXVIII. stantine achieved, in less than a century, the
final conquest of the Roman empire: but the
victors themselves were insensibly subdued by
the arts of their vanquished rivals.*

* The imitation of paganism is the subject of Dr. Manning's agreeable letter from Rome. Walberton's natural freedom obliged him to connect (vol. iii. p. 120-132) the history of the first religion, and to prove the antiquity of the Christian era.

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Final decision of the Roman empire between the sons of Theodosius—Reign of Arcadius and Honorius—Administration of Rufinus and Stilicho—Revolt and defeat of Gildo in Africa.

THE genius of Rome expired with Theodosius; the last of the successors of Augustus and Constantine, who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whose authority was universally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the empire. The memory of his virtues still continued, however, to protect the feeble and inexperienced youth of his two sons. After the death of their father, Arcadius and Honorius were saluted, by the unanimous consent of mankind, as the lawful emperors of the East, and of the West; and the oath of fidelity was eagerly taken by every order of the state: the senators of old and new Rome, the clergy, the magistrates, the soldiers, and the people. Arcadius, who then was about eighteen years of age, was born in Spain, in the humble habitation of a private family. But he received a princely education in the palace of Constantinople; and his inglorious life was spent in that peaceful and splendid seat of royalty, from whence he appeared to reign over the provinces of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia and Ethiopia. His

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Division of the empire between Arcadius and Honorius, A. D. 393, Jan. 17.

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younger brother, Honorius, assumed, in the eleventh year of his age, the nominal government of Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; and the troops, which guarded the frontiers of his kingdom, were opposed, on one side, to the Caledonians, and on the other to the Moors. The great and martial prefecture of Illyricum was divided between the two princes; the defence and possession of the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, still belonged to the western empire; but the two large dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia, which Gratian had intrusted to the valour of Theodosius, were for ever united to the empire of the East. The boundary in Europe was not very different from the line which now separates the Germans and the Turks; and the respective advantages of territory, riches, populousness, and military strength, were fairly balanced and compensated, in this final and permanent division of the Roman empire. The hereditary sceptre of the sons of Theodosius appeared to be the gift of nature, and of their father: the generals and ministers had been accustomed to adore the majesty of the royal infants; and the army and people were not admonished of their rights, and of their power, by the dangerous example of a recent election. The gradual discovery of the weakness of Arcadius and Honorius, and the repeated calamities of their reign, were not sufficient to obliterate the deep and early impressions of loyalty. The subjects of Rome, who still revered the persons, or rather the names, of their sovereigns, beheld,

with equal abhorrence, the rebels who opposed, CHAP.
and the ministers who abused, the authority of
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the throne.

Theodosius had tarnished the glory of his reign by the elevation of Rufinus; an odious favourite, who, in an age of civil and religious faction, has deserved, from every party, the imputation of every crime. The strong impulse of ambition and avarice* had urged Rufinus to abandon his native country, an obscure corner of Gaul,† to advance his fortune in the capital of the East: the talent of bold and ready elocution‡ qualified him to succeed in the lucrative profession of the law; and his success in that profession was a regular step to the most honourable and important employments of the state. He was raised, by just degrees, to the station of master of the offices. In the exercise of his various functions, so essentially connected with the whole system of civil government, he acquired the confidence of a monarch, who soon discovered his diligence and capacity in business, and who long remained ignorant of the pride, the malice, and the covetousness, of his disposition. These vices were concealed beneath the mask of profound dissimulation;§

Character
and admin-
istration
of Rufinus,
A. D. 395.
225.

* *Altera, vitæque et publicæ fidei, conveniens infamæ syndæ.* *Hæcra commendatæ hæc populi Rufinus, and exerts him to deeds of mischief, &c.* But there is as much difference between Claudian's fury and that of Virgil, as between the character of Turnus and Rufinus.

† It is evident, *Œconomus, Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 770.* *Chronic. de Metax.* is informed of his countryman, that Rufinus was born at Elusa, the metropolis of Neorupopolis, now a small village of Germany, of Austria. *Notæ de l'Antiquité Gaulle p. 289.*

‡ *Philostorgius, l. vi. c. 3.* with *Galefroy's Dissert.* p. 440.

§ A passage of Tacitus is expressive of his profound dissimulation; *Indignum aliquando hæc agere.*

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his passions were subservient only to the passions of his master; yet, in the horrid massacre of Thessalonica, the cruel Rufinus inflamed the fury, without imitating the repentance, of Theodosius. The minister, who viewed with proud indifference the rest of mankind, never forgave the appearance of an injury; and his personal enemies had forfeited, in his opinion, the merit of all public services. Promotus, the master-general of the infantry, had saved the empire from the invasions of the Ostrogoths; but he indignantly supported the pre-eminence of a rival, whose character and profession he despised; and, in the midst of a public council, the impatient soldier was provoked to chastise with a blow the indecent pride of the favourite. This act of violence was represented to the emperor as an insult, which it was incumbent on *his* dignity to resent. The disgrace and exile of Promotus were signified by a peremptory order, to repair, without delay, to a military station on the banks of the Danube; and the death of that general (though he was slain in a skirmish with the barbarians) was imputed to the perfidious arts of Rufinus.⁶ The sacrifice of an hero gratified his revenge; the honours of the consulship elated his vanity; but his power was still imperfect and precarious, as long as the important posts of prefect of the East, and of prefect of Constantinople, were filled by Tatian.⁷

⁶ Rufinus, l. iv, p. 272, 273.

⁷ Zosimus, who describes the fall of Tatian and his son, li. iv, p. 272, 273, asserts their innocence; and even his testimony may outweigh the charges of their enemies. (Cord. Theodos. tom. ii, p. 582, who

and his son Proculus; whose united authority balanced, for some time, the ambition and favour of the master of the offices. The two prefects were accused of rapine and corruption in the administration of the laws and finances. For the trial of these illustrious offenders, the emperor constituted a special commission; several judges were named to share the guilt and reproof of injustice; but the right of pronouncing sentence was reserved to the president alone, and that president was Rufinus himself. The father, stripped of the prefecture of the East, was thrown into a dungeon; but the son, conscious that few ministers can be found innocent, where an enemy is their judge, had secretly escaped; and Rufinus must have been satisfied with the least obnoxious victim, if despotism had not condescended to employ the basest and most ungenerous artifice. The prosecution was conducted with an appearance of equity and moderation, which flattered Tatian with the hope of a favourable event; his confidence was fortified by the solemn assurances, and perfidious oaths, of the president, who presumed to interpose the sacred name of Theodosius himself; and the unhappy father was at last persuaded to recel, by a private letter, the fugitive Proculus. He was instantly seized, examined, condemned, and beheaded, in one of the suburbs of Constantinople, with a precipitation which

arises from the apprehension of the Cyrenæ. The connection of Tatian with the Africans, while he was prefect of Egypt, A. D. 373, inclines Tillamont to believe that he was guilty of every crime. Hist. des Emp. rom. v. p. 360. Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins. et Bel. Lett. t. vi. p. 388.

CHAP. disappointed the clemency of the emperor.
XXIX. Without respecting the misfortunes of a consular senator, the cruel judges of Tatian compelled him to behold the execution of his son: the fatal cord was fastened round his own neck: but in the moment when he expected, and perhaps desired, the relief of a speedy death, he was permitted to consume the miserable remnant of his old age in poverty and exile.* The punishment of the two prefects might, perhaps, be excused by the exceptionable parts of their own conduct: the enmity of Rufinus might be palliated by the jealous and unsociable nature of ambition. But he indulged a spirit of revenge, equally repugnant to prudence and to justice, when he degraded their native country of Lycia, from the rank of Roman provinces; stigmatized a guiltless people with a mark of ignominy; and declared that the countrymen of Tatian and Proculus should ever remain incapable of holding any employment of honour or advantage under the imperial government.† The new

* *Juvenis nativitas colle
Ante patrum rutilos stricta coramde torquet.
Hæc grandæque tibi inclementis æquæque
Pecunia trahere coget.* In *Bulla*, p. 238.

The force of *Juvenis* explains the allusion of Claudian; but the classical interpreters were ignorant of the harsh sentence. *The first* said, I found, with the help of Valerius, in a sermon of St. Asterius of Amasea.

† This clause law is omitted, and repeated, by Arcadius, 1A. D. 380, in the *Thémistachie Code*, l. ii. tit. xxviii. leg. 9. The sense, as it is explained by Claudian, (in *Rufin*, l. 234), and Godefroy, (lanc. ii. p. 279), is perfectly clear.

— *Excludere civis
Pavulus; et rutilos gentis debere laborat.*

prefect of the East (for Rufinus instantly succeeded to the vacant honours of his adversary) was not diverted, however, by the most criminal pursuits, from the performance of the religious duties, which in that age were considered as the most essential to salvation. In the suburb of Chalcedon, surnamed the *Oak*, he had built a magnificent villa; to which he devoutly added a stately church, consecrated to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and continually sanctified by the prayers, and penance, of a regular society of monks. A numerous, and almost general, synod of the bishops of the eastern empire was summoned to celebrate, at the same time, the dedication of the church, and the baptism of the founder. This double ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and when Rufinus was purified, in the holy font, from all the sins that he had hitherto committed, a venerable hermit of Egypt rashly proposed himself as the sponsor of a proud and ambitious statesman.

The character of Theodosius imposed on his minister the task of hypocrisy, which disguised, and sometimes restrained, the abuse of power; and Rufinus was apprehensive of disturbing the indolent slumber of a prince, still capable of exerting the abilities, and the virtue, which had

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continued

He opposed the East.
A. D. 384.

The scruples of Ego and Theodosius ran away only from their own and for the glory of Theodosius.

* Ammonius c. 1. - Rufinus populum tremulis precibus inter felle manducans. See Remy's de Vita Patrum, p. 247. Sozomenus (l. vii. c. 11) mentions the church and monastery; and Theodoret (Mon. Eccles. torn. II, p. 200) reports the synod, in which St. Gregory of Nyssa performed a conspicuous part.

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raised him to the throne.¹ But the absence, and soon afterwards, the death, of the emperor, confirmed the absolute authority of Rufinus over the person and dominions of Arcadius: a feeble youth, whom the imperious prefect considered as his pupil, rather than his sovereign. Regardless of the public opinion, he indulged his passions without remorse, and without resistance; and his malignant and rapacious spirit rejected every passion that might have contributed to his own glory, or the happiness of the people.² His avarice,³ which seems to have prevailed in his corrupt mind, over every other sentiment, attracted the wealth of the East, by the various arts of partial, and general, extortion; oppressive taxes, scandalous bribery, immoderate fines, unjust confiscations, forced or fictitious testaments, by which the tyrant despoiled of their lawful inheritance the children of strangers, or enemies; and the public sale of justice, as well as of favour, which he instituted in the palace of Constantinople. The

¹ *Menestrophian* (*Epist. dec. lat.*, l. xii. c. 12) promises one of the lines of Theodorus, addressed to the prefect Rufinus, *tu. lx. ut. it. it.* The author, to discourage the prosecution of innumerable, or sacrilegious, youths. A tyrannical statute always proves the existence of tyranny: but a lenient edict may only exhibit the specious professions or unfeeling wishes, of the palace, or the ministers. *Thes.*, 2. an. should be a just, though ungratifying, censure of criticism.

² *Epist. dec. lat.*, l. xii. c. 12.

³ *Epist. dec. lat.*, l. xii. c. 12.

Epist. dec. lat., l. xii. c. 12.

Epist. dec. lat., l. xii. c. 12.

Epist. dec. lat., l. xii. c. 12.

The character of Rufinus (*Epist. dec. lat.*, l. xii. c. 12) is confirmed by *Jo. v. v.*, a disinterested historian, *Historia ecclesiastica*, tom. 1. ad Heliodor. p. 365; by *Rufinus*, *Epist. dec. lat.*, p. 128, and by *Sollus*, who copied the history of Eusebius.

ambitious candidate eagerly solicited, at the expence of the fairest part of his patrimony, the honours and emoluments of some provincial government; the lives and fortunes of the unhappy people were abandoned to the most liberal purchaser; and the public discontent was sometimes appeased by the sacrifice of an unpopular criminal, whose punishment was profitable only to the prefect of the East, his accomplice and his judge. If avarice were not the blindest of the human passions, the motives of Rufinus might excite our curiosity; and we might be tempted to inquire, with what view he violated every principle of humanity and justice, to accumulate those immense treasures, which he could not spend without folly, nor possess without danger. Perhaps he vainly imagined, that he laboured for the interest of an only daughter, on whom he intended to bestow his royal pupil, and the august rank of empress of the East. Perhaps he deceived himself by the opinion, that his avarice was the instrument of his ambition. He aspired to place his fortune on a secure and independent basis, which should no longer depend on the caprice of the young emperor; yet he neglected to conciliate the hearts of the soldiers and people, by the liberal distribution of those riches, which he had acquired with so much toil, and with so much guilt. The extreme parsimony of Rufinus left him only the reproach, and envy, of ill-gotten wealth; his dependants served him without attachment; the universal hatred of mankind was repressed only by the influence of servile fear. The fate of

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Lucian proclaimed to the East, that the prefect, whose industry was much abated in the despatch of ordinary business, was active and indefatigable in the pursuit of revenge. Lucian, the son of the prefect Florentius, the oppressor of Gaul, and the enemy of Julian, had employed a considerable part of his inheritance, the fruit of rapine and corruption, to purchase the friendship of Rufinus, and the high office of count of the East. But the new magistrate imprudently departed from the maxims of the court, and of the times; disgraced his benefactor, by the contrast of a virtuous and temperate administration; and presumed to refuse an act of injustice, which might have tended to the profit of the emperor's uncle. Arcadius was easily persuaded to resent the supposed insult; and the prefect of the East resolved to execute in person the cruel vengeance which he meditated against this ungrateful delegate of his power. He performed with incessant speed the journey of seven or eight hundred miles, from Constantinople to Antioch, entered the capital of Syria at the dead of night, and spread universal consternation among a people, ignorant of his design, but not ignorant of his character. The count of the fifteen provinces of the East was dragged, like the vilest malefactor, before the arbitrary tribunal of Rufinus. Notwithstanding the clearest evidence of his integrity, which was not impeached even by the voice of an accuser, Lucian was condemned, almost without a trial, to suffer a cruel and ignominious punishment. The ministers of the tyrant, by the order, and in the presence, of their master, beat

him on the neck with leather thongs, armed at the extremities with lead; and when he fainted under the violence of the pain, he was removed in a close litter, to conceal his dying agonies from the eyes of the indignant city. No sooner had Rufinus perpetrated this inhuman act, the sole object of his expedition, than he returned, amidst the deep, and silent, curses of a trembling people, from Antioch to Constantinople; and his diligence was accelerated, by the hope of accomplishing, without delay, the nuptials of his daughter with the emperor of the East.*

But Rufinus soon experienced, that a prudent minister should constantly secure his royal captive by the strong, though invisible, chain of habit; and that the merit, and much more easily the favour, of the absent, are obliterated in a short time from the mind of a weak and capricious sovereign. While the prefect satiated his revenge at Antioch, a secret conspiracy of the favourite eunuchs, directed by the great chamberlain Eutropius, undermined his power in the palace of Constantinople. They discovered that Arcadius was not inclined to love the daughter of Rufinus, who had been chosen, without his consent, for his bride; and they contrived to substitute in her place the fair Eudoxia, the daughter of Bauto,†

He is disappointed, by the marriage of Arcadius, A. D. 395, April 27.

———Cæsaræ regis i.

Ad laicæ regis i. pœtissæ regis i. pœtissæ
Imperat. i. e. i. e.

This allusion of Claudian (in Rufin. l. 341) is again explained by the circumstantial narrative of Zosimus, li. v. p. 256. 257.

* Zosimus (li. iv. p. 213) praises the valour, prudence, and integrity of Bauto this friend. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 771.

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a general of the Franks in the service of Rome; and who was educated, since the death of her father, in the family of the sons of Promotus. The young emperor, whose chastity had been strictly guarded by the pious care of his tutor Arsenius,* eagerly listened to the artful and flattering descriptions of the charms of Eudoxia: he gazed with impatient ardour on her picture, and he understood the necessity of concealing his amorous designs from the knowledge of a minister, who was so deeply interested to oppose the consummation of his happiness. Soon after the return of Rufinus, the approaching ceremony of the royal nuptials was announced to the people of Constantinople, who prepared to celebrate, with false and hollow acclamations, the fortune of his daughter. A splendid train of eunuchs and officers issued, in nuptial pomp, from the gates of the palace; bearing aloft the diadem, the robes, and the inestimable ornaments, of the future empress. The solemn procession passed through the streets of the city, which were adorned with garlands, and filled with spectators; but, when it reached the house of the sons of Promotus, the principal eunuch respectfully entered the mansion, invested the fair Eudoxia with the imperial robes, and conducted her in triumph to the palace and bed of Arcadius.† The secrecy, and success, with which

* Arsenius escaped from the palace of Constantinople, and passed sixty-five years in rigid penance in the monasteries of Egypt. See *Théophastrate, Mém. Eccles. tom. xiv. p. 674-687*, and *Pléty, Hist. Nicée. tom. i. p. 1. &c.* but the latter, for want of authentic materials, has given too much credit to the legend of Metaphrastes.

† This story (Gibbon, l. v. p. 290) proves that the nuptial rites of antiquity were still practised, without idollry, by the Christians.

this conspiracy against Rufinus had been conducted, imprinted a mark of indelible ridicule on the character of a minister, who had suffered himself to be deceived, in a post where the arts of deceit and dissimulation constitute the most distinguished merit. He considered, with a mixture of indignation and fear, the victory of an aspiring eunuch, who had secretly captivated the favour of his sovereign; and the disgrace of his daughter, whose interest was inseparably connected with his own; wounded the tenderness, or, at least, the pride, of Rufinus. At the moment when he flattered himself that he should become the father of a line of kings, a foreign maid, who had been educated in the house of his implacable enemies, was introduced into the imperial bed; and Eudoxia soon displayed a superiority of sense and spirit, to improve the ascendant which her beauty must acquire over the mind of a fond and youthful husband. The emperor would soon be instructed to hate, to fear, and to destroy, the powerful subject, whom he had injured; and the consciousness of guilt deprived Rufinus of every hope, either of safety or comfort, in the retirement of a private life. But he still possessed the most effectual means of defending his dignity, and perhaps of oppressing his enemies. The prefect still exercised an uncontrolled authority over the civil and military government of the East:

of the East; and the bride was *forcibly* conducted from the house of her parents to that of her husband. One form of marriage requisite, with less delicacy, the assent and public consent of a virgin.

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[continued]

and his treasures, if he could resolve to use them, might be employed to procure proper instruments, for the execution of the blackest designs, that pride, ambition, and revenge, could suggest to a desperate statesman. The character of Rufinus seemed to justify the accusations, that he conspired against the person of his sovereign, to seat himself on the vacant throne; and that he had secretly invited the Huns, and the Goths, to invade the provinces of the empire, and to increase the public confusion. The subtle prefect, whose life had been spent in the intrigues of the palace, opposed, with equal arms, the artful measures of the eunuch Eutropius; but the timid soul of Rufinus was astonished by the hostile approach of a more formidable rival, of the great Stilicho, the general, or rather the master, of the empire of the West.*

Character
of Stilicho,
the minister,
and general,
of the western
empire.

The celestial gift which Achilles obtained, and Alexander envied, of a poet worthy to celebrate the actions of heroes, has been enjoyed by Stilicho, in a much higher degree than might have been expected from the declining state of genius, and of art. The muse of Claudian,† devoted to his service, was always prepared to stigmatize his adversaries, Rufinus, or Eutropius, with eternal infamy; or to paint, in the most splendid colours, the victories and virtues, of a powerful benefactor. In the review of a period indifferently

* Zosimus, *l. v.* p. 280; Orosius, *l. vii. c.* 37; and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Claudian (*in Rufo*, *l.* 7-106) paints, in lively colours, the dissimulation and guilt of the prefect.

† Stilicho, directly or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian. The youth, and private life, of the hero, are vaguely expressed in the poem on his first consulship, 38-146.

supplied with authentic materials, we cannot refuse to illustrate the annals of Honorius, from the invectives, or the panegyrics, of a contemporary writer: but as Claudian appears to have indulged the most ample privilege of a poet and a courtier, some criticism will be requisite to translate the language of fiction, or exaggeration, into the truth and simplicity of historic prose. His silence concerning the family of Stilicho may be admitted as a proof, that his patron was neither able, nor desirous, to boast of a long series of illustrious progenitors; and the slight mention of his father, an officer of barbarian cavalry, in the service of Valens, seems to countenance the assertion, that the general, who so long commanded the armies of Rome, was descended from the savage and perfidious race of the Vandals.* If Stilicho had not possessed the external advantages of strength and stature, the most flattering bard, in the presence of so many thousands of spectators, would have hesitated to affirm, that he surpassed the measure of the demi-gods of antiquity; and, that whenever he moved, with lofty steps, through the streets of the capital, the astonished crowd made room for the stranger, who displayed, in a private condition, the awful majesty of a hero. From his earliest youth he embraced the profession of arms; his prudence and valour were soon distinguished in the field; the horsemen and archers

* *Vandalorum, libellis, armis, ferulis, et dolis, gentis, genere editus.* Orosius, l. vii, c. 38. *Inter primis, ad Gratianum, p. 69* vult hunc a semi-barbaris.

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continued

of the East admired his superior dexterity; and in each degree of his military promotions, the public judgment always prevented and approved the choice of the sovereign. He was named by Theodosius, to ratify a solemn treaty with the monarch of Persia: he supported, during that important embassy, the dignity of the Roman name; and after his return to Constantinople, his merit was rewarded by an intimate and honourable alliance with the imperial family. Theodosius had been prompted, by a pious motive of fraternal affection, to adopt, for his own, the daughter of his brother Honorius: the beauty and accomplishments of Serena* were universally admired by the obsequious court; and Stilicho obtained the preference over a crowd of rivals, who ambitiously disputed the hand of the princess, and the favour of her adoptive father. The assurance that the husband of Serena would be faithful to the throne, which he was permitted to approach, engaged the emperor to exalt the fortunes, and to employ the abilities, of the sagacious and intrepid Stilicho. He rose through the successive steps of master of the horse, and count of the domestics, to the supreme rank of master-general of all the cavalry and infantry of

His military command.

* Claudius, in an imperfect poem, has drawn a fair, perhaps a flatteringly, portrait of Serena. That formidably name of Theodosius was born, as well as his sister Thermantia, in Spain; from whence, in their earliest youth, they were humbly conducted to the palace of Constantinople.

* Some doubt may be entertained, whether this adoption was legal, or only metaphorical, see Duhaugre, *Essai. Byzant.* p. 74a. An old inscription gives Stilicho the singular title of *Progenies Dei Theodosii*.

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A. D. 294-
408.

the Roman, or at least of the western, empire? and his enemies confessed, that he invariably disdained to barter for gold the rewards of merit, or to defraud the soldiers of the pay and gratifications, which they deserved, or claimed, from the liberality of the state.* The valour and conduct which he afterwards displayed, in the defence of Italy, against the arms of Alaric and Radagaisus; may justify the fame of his early achievements; and in an age less attentive to the laws of honour, or of pride, the Roman generals might yield the pre-eminence of rank, to the ascendancy of superior genius.† He lamented, and revealed, the murder of Promotus, his rival and his friend; and the massacre of many thousands of the flying Bastarnæ is represented by the poet, as a bloody sacrifice, which the Roman Achilles offered to the names of another Patroclus. The virtues and victories of Stilicho deserved the hatred of Rufinus; and the arts of

* Claudian *Hæm. Sermon*, 180, 183, in prose, in poetic language, the “*dilectus equorum*,” and the “*genius ipse quem culmine ducit æquus*.” The inscription adds, “*remi of the diemeter*,” an impressive allusion, which Stilicho, in the height of his grandeur, might proudly revolve.

† The beautiful lines of Claudian (in *J. Goss. Stilich. H.* 113), display his genius; but the integrity of Stilicho in the military administration is much more firmly established by the irrefragable evidence of Zosimus, (l. v. p. 344).

— *Stilich. Index*

Imperator, quævis ante æque minuit.

Ex quo grandævus æquus pollicemq; imperium

Adhibere. — Claudian, *Lex. Seren.* p. 196, &c.

A modern general would desert, their submission, either latent patricians, or secret severity.



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calumny might have been successful, if the tender and vigilant Serena had not protected her husband against his domestic foes, whilst he vanquished in the field the enemies of the empire.^a Theodosius continued to support an unworthy minister, to whose diligence he delegated the government of the palace, and of the East; but when he marched against the tyrant Eugenius, he associated his faithful general to the labours and glories of the civil war; and, in the last moments of his life, the dying monarch recommended to Stilicho the care of his sons, and of the republic.^b The ambition and the abilities of Stilicho were not unequal to the important trust; and he claimed the guardianship of the two empires, during the minority of Arcadius and Honorius.^c The first measure of his administration, or rather of his reign, displayed to the nations the vigour and activity of a spirit worthy to command. He passed the Alps in the depth of winter; descended the straits of

^a Compare the poem on the first consulship, li. 83-113, with the *Laus Serenæ*, (227-235, where it unfortunately breaks off). We may perceive the deep inveterate malice of Rufinus.

^b ——— *Quem fratrilis ipse*

Incensum, Opprobrique defensorumque delictis.

Yet the nomination (by Const. Hon. 432) was private, (iii. Const. Hon. 118), entirely dissolute: i. e. i. Julei; and may, therefore, be interpreted, *Senatus*, and *Senatus*, apply to Stilicho, and Rufinus, the same exact title of *Senatus*, guardians, or procurators.

^c The Roman law distinguished two sorts of senatores, which expired at the age of fourteen, and of twenty-five. The one was subject to the *senatus*, or guardian, of the person; the other to the *senatus*, or trustee, of the estate, (*Emeritus*, *Antiquitat. Rom. ad Jur. quædam*, partment. 1. i. tit. xiii. xvii, p. 318-322). May these legal lines were ever accurately transferred into the constitution of an elective monarchy.

the Rhine, from the fortress of Basil to the marches of Batavia; reviewed the state of the garrisons; repressed the enterprises of the Germans; and, after establishing along the banks a firm and honourable peace, returned with incredible speed to the palace of Milan.^a The person and court of Honorius were subject to the master-general of the West: and the armies and provinces of Europe obeyed, without hesitation, a regular authority, which was exercised in the name of their young sovereign. Two rivals only remained to dispute the claims, and to provoke the vengeance, of Stilicho. Within the limits of Africa, Gildo, the Moor, maintained a proud and dangerous independence; and the minister of Constantinople asserted his equal reign over the emperor, and the empire, of the East.

The impartiality which Stilicho affected, as the common guardian of the royal brothers, engaged him to regulate the equal division of the arms, the jewels, and the magnificent wardrobe and furniture of the deceased emperor.^b But the most important object of the inheritance consisted of the numerous legions, cohorts, and squadrons of Romans, or barbarians, whom the event of the civil war had united under the standard of Theodosius. The various multitudes of Europe and

The fall
and death
of Rufinus.
A. D. 393.
Nov. 27.

^a See Claudian, *O. Cons. Stilich.* l. 188-234; but he must allow more than fifteen days for the journey and return between Milan and Leyden.

^b *I Cons. Stilich.* ii. 46-54. Not only the robes and diadems of the deceased emperor, but even the helmets, sword-blades, belts, and rings, &c. were enriched with pearls, emeralds, and diamonds.

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Asia, exasperated by recent animosities, were overawed by the authority of a single man; and the rigid discipline of Stilicho protected the limbs of the citizen from the rapine of the licentious soldier.^c Anxious, however, and impatient, to relieve Italy from the presence of this formidable host, which could be useful only on the frontiers of the empire, he listened to the just requisition of the minister of Arcadius, declared his intention of re-conducting in person the troops of the East; and dexterously employed the rumour of a Gothic tumult, to conceal his private designs of ambition and revenge.* The guilty soul of Rufinus was alarmed by the approach of a warrior and a rival, whose enmity he deserved; he computed, with increasing terror, the narrow space of his life and greatness; and, as the last hope of safety, he interposed the authority of the emperor Arcadius. Stilicho, who appears to have directed his march along the sea-coast of the Adriatic, was not far distant from the city of Thessalonica, when he received a peremptory message, to recall the troops of the East, and to declare, that his nearer approach would be considered, by the

— *Tempestas veniente* —

Princeps, mutatus caelo non venit solatus.

This high commendation (I. Cons. 342. v. 119) may be justified by the facts of the dying emperor, (see Bell. Gildon. 195-201); and the peace and good order, which were enjoyed after his death. (I. Cons. 342. v. 120, 124.)

^c Stilicho's march, and the death of Rufinus, are detailed by Constantine, (de Rufin. l. 36, 344-353; Zosimus, O. 7, p. 236, 237); Socrates, (l. 4, c. 12); Sozomen, (l. 21, c. 3); Theodoretus, (l. 2, c. 7), with Giessey, p. 441; and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

Byzantine court, as an act of hostility. The prompt and unexpected obedience of the general of the West, convinced the vulgar of his loyalty and moderation: and, as he had already engaged the affection of the eastern troops, he recommended to their zeal the execution of his bloody design, which might be accomplished in his absence, with less danger perhaps, and with less reproach. Stilicho left the command of the troops of the East to Gainas, the Goth, on whose fidelity he firmly relied: with an assurance, at least, that the hardy barbarian would never be diverted from his purpose by any consideration of fear or remorse. The soldiers were easily persuaded to punish the enemy of Stilicho, and of Rome: and such was the general hatred which Rufinus had excited, that the fatal secret, communicated to thousands, was faithfully preserved during the long march from Thessalonica to the gates of Constantinople. As soon as they had resolved his death, they condescended to flatter his pride: the ambitious prefect was seduced to believe, that those powerful auxiliaries might be tempted to place the diadem on his head: and the treasures which he distributed, with a tardy and reluctant hand, were accepted by the indignant multitude, as an insult, rather than as a gift. At the distance of a mile from the capital, in the field of Mars, before the palace of Heliodorus, the troops halted: and the emperor, as well as his minister, advanced, according to ancient custom, respectfully to salute the power which supported their throne. As Rufinus passed along the

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ranks, and disguised, with studied courtesy, his innate haughtiness, the wings insensibly wheeled from the right and left, and inclosed the devoted victim within the circle of their arms. Before he could reflect on the danger of his situation, Gainas gave the signal of death; a daring and forward soldier plunged his sword into the breast of the guilty prefect, and Rufinus fell, groaned, and expired, at the feet of the affrighted emperor. If the agonies of a moment could expiate the crimes of a whole life, or if the outrages inflicted on a breathless corpse could be the object of pity, our humanity might perhaps be affected by the horrid circumstances which accompanied the murder of Rufinus. His mangled body was abandoned to the brutal fury of the populace of either sex, who hustened in crowds, from every quarter of the city, to trample on the remains of the haughty minister, at whose frown they had so lately trembled. His right hand was cut off, and carried through the streets of Constantinople, in cruel mockery, to extort contributions for the avaricious tyrant, whose head was publicly exposed, borne aloft on the point of a long lance.* According to the savage maxims of the Greek republics, his innocent family would have shared the punishment of his crimes. The wife and daughter of Rufinus were indebted for their safety to the influence of religion. *Her* sanctuary protected

* The *dissection* of Rufinus, which Christian poets join with the savage crimes of an assassin, (in *Rufin.* l. 403-413), is likewise specified by Zosimus and Jetani, (tom. I. p. 29).

them from the raging madness of the people; and they were permitted to spend the remainder of their lives in the exercises of Christian devotion, in the peaceful retirement of Jerusalem.

The servile poet of Stilicho applauds, with ferocious joy, this horrid deed, which, in the execution, perhaps, of justice, violated every law of nature and society, profaned the majesty of the prince, and renewed the dangerous examples of military licence. The contemplation of the universal order and harmony had satisfied Claudian of the existence of the Deity: but the prosperous impunity of vice appeared to contradict his moral attributes; and the fate of Rufinus was the only event which could dispel the religious doubts of the poet.^a Such an act might vindicate the honour of Providence; but it did not much contribute to the happiness of the people. In less than three months they were informed of the maxims of the new administration, by a singular edict, which established the exclusive right of the treasury over the spoils of Rufinus; and silenced, under heavy penalties, the presumptuous claims of the subjects of the eastern empire, who had

Discord of the two empires, A. D. 396, &c.

^a The pagan Eunapius mentions their sanctity and pilgrimages. The sister of Rufinus, Eutropeia, who passed her life in seclusion, is famous in ecclesiastical history. 1. The studious virgin had diligently, and even repeatedly, perused the commentaries on the Bible, Origen, Gregory, Basil, &c. to the amount of five millions of lines. 2. At the age of threescore, she could boast, that she had never washed her hands, feet, or any part of her whole body, except the tips of her fingers, to traverse the summities. See the *Vite Patrum*, p. 770, 917.

^b See the beautiful epigram of Meville against Rufinus, which is variously discussed by the several Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, *Wetstein*, See. R.

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CONSTANTINOPLE.

been injured by his rapacious tyranny.¹ Even Stilicho did not derive from the murder of his rival, the fruit which he had proposed; and though he gratified his revenge, his ambition was disappointed. Under the name of a favourite, the weakness of Arcadius required a master; but he naturally preferred the obsequious arts of the eunuch Eutropius, who had obtained his domestic confidence; and the emperor contemplated, with terror and aversion, the stern genius of a foreign warrior. Till they were divided by the jealousy of power, the sword of Gaius, and the charms of Eudoxia, supported the favour of the great chamberlain of the palace: the perfidious Goth, who was appointed master-general of the East, betrayed, without scruple, the interest of his benefactor; and the same troops, who had so lately massacred the enemy of Stilicho, were engaged to support, against him, the independence of the throne of Constantinople. The favourites of Arcadius fomented a secret and irreconcilable war against a formidable hero, who aspired to govern, and to defend, the two empires of Rome, and the two sons of Theodosius. They incessantly laboured, by dark and treacherous machinations, to deprive him of the esteem of the prince, the respect of the people, and the friendship of the barbarians. The life of Stilicho was repeatedly attempted by the dagger of hired assassins; and a decree was obtained, from the senate of Con-

¹ See the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xlii. leg. 14. 15. The new edicts were attempted, with incessant services, to wipe the spots of their predecessor, and to provide for their own future security.

stantinople, to declare him an enemy of the republic, and to confiscate his ample possessions in the provinces of the East. At a time when the only hope of delaying the ruin of the Roman name, depended on the firm union, and reciprocal aid, of all the nations to whom it had been gradually communicated, the subjects of Arcadius and Honorius were instructed, by their respective masters, to view each other in a foreign, and even hostile, light; to rejoice in their mutual calamities, and to embrace, as their faithful allies, the barbarians, whom they excited to invade the territories of their countrymen.²¹ The natives of Italy affected to despise the servile and effeminate Greeks of Byzantium, who presumed to imitate the dress, and to usurp the dignity, of Roman senators;²² and the Greeks had not yet forgot the sentiments of hatred and contempt, which their polished ancestors had so long entertained for the rude inhabitants of the West. The distinction of two governments, which soon produced the separation of two nations, will justify my design of suspending the series of the Byzantine history, to prosecute, without interruption,

²¹ See Claudian, *l. Cons. Stilich.* l. i. 272, 292, 296; l. ii. 53; and Zosimus, l. vi. p. 302.

²² Claudian turns the friendship of the emperor Theodosius into a national reflection, *l. d.* 124.

— *Pindarum vixit ætatem*

Et Byzantium posuere, Gæcosque Quirites;

O patribus pietas, O digni regibus patres.

It is curious to observe the first symptoms of jealousy and animosity between old and new Romans, between the Greeks and Latins.

CHAP. the disgraceful, but memorable, reign of Honorius.
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Revolt of
Gildas in
Africa,
A. D. 398.
398.

The prudent Stilicho, instead of persisting to force the inclinations of a prince, and people, who rejected his government, wisely abandoned Arcadius to his unworthy favourites; and his reluctance to involve the two empires in a civil war, displayed the moderation of a minister, who had so often signalized his military spirit and abilities. But if Stilicho had any longer endured the revolt of Africa, he would have betrayed the security of the capital, and the majesty of the western emperor, to the capricious insolence of a Moorish rebel. Gildas,* the brother of the tyrant Firmus, had preserved, and obtained, as the reward of his apparent fidelity, the immense patrimony which was forfeited by treason: long and meritorious service, in the armies of Rome, raised him to the dignity of a military count; the narrow policy of the court of Theodosius had adopted the mischievous expedient of supporting a legal government by the interest of a powerful family; and the brother of Firmus was invested with the command of Africa. His ambition soon usurped the administration of justice, and of the finances, without account, and without controul; and he maintained, during a reign of twelve years, the possession of an office from which it was impossible to remove him, without the danger of a civil

* Claudian may have exaggerated the vices of Gildas; but his Moorish extraction, his numerous wives, and the corruption of St. Augustine, may justify the poet's invectives. Blandin (Annal. Hist. A. D. 398, p. 346) has treated the African rebellion with skill and learning.

war. During those twelve years, the province of Africa groined under the dominion of a tyrant, who seemed to unite the unfeeling temper of a stranger, with the partial resentments of domestic faction. The forms of law were often superseded by the use of poison; and if the trembling guests, who were invited to the table of Gildo, presumed to express their fears, the insolent suspicion served only to excite his fury, and he loudly summoned the ministers of death. Gildo alternately indulged the passions of avarice and lust; and if his *days* were terrible to the rich, his *nights* were not less dreadful to husbands and parents. The fairest of their wives and daughters were prostituted to the embraces of the tyrant; and afterwards abandoned to a ferocious troop of barbarians and assassins, the black, or swarthy natives of the desert; whom Gildo considered as the only guardians of his throne. In the civil war between Theodosius and Eugenius, the count, or rather the sovereign, of Africa, maintained a haughty and suspicious neutrality; refused to assist either of the contending parties with troops or vessels, expected the declaration of fortune, and reserved for the

Tantum proleis civilis, interfectione baris,
Vagantæ regnes, thalamis claudunt adulter.
Nulla sparis: cuncta pœdâ cœmuntur litidos,
Dyrrhacique domos, et non normantia mœnia.
—— Mænia clauduntur quæque

Faciliâ datur.

Between confusions, and more severity, the housewives of Gildo, as his wife, his daughter, and his sister, were examples of perfect chastity. The soldiers of the African soldiers are shocked by one of the imperial laws.

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conqueror, the vain professions of his allegiance. Such professions would not have satisfied the master of the Roman world: but the death of Theodosius, and the weakness and discord of his sons, confirmed the power of the Moor: who condescended, as a proof of his moderation, to abstain from the use of the diadem, and to supply Rome with the customary tribute, or rather subsidy, of corn. In every division of the empire, the five provinces of Africa were invariably assigned to the West; and Gildo had consented to govern that extensive country in the name of Honorius; but his knowledge of the character and designs of Stilicho, soon engaged him to address his homage to a more distant and feeble sovereign. The ministers of Arcadius embraced the cause of a perfidious rebel; and the delusive hope of adding the numerous cities of Africa to the empire of the East, tempted them to assert a claim, which they were incapable of supporting, either by reason, or by arms.⁵

He is con-
demned by
the Roman
senate,
A. D. 397.

When Stilicho had given a firm and decisive answer to the pretensions of the Byzantine court, he solemnly accused the tyrant of Africa before the tribunal, which had formerly judged the kings and nations of the earth; and the image of the republic was revived, after a long interval, under the reign of Honorius. The emperor transmitted an accurate and ample detail of the complaints of

⁵ *Inquit tunc erant numerosa tumultuosa urbes.*
Cassian (*de Bell. Gildone*, 230, 224) has inserted, with political jealousy, the intrigues of the Byzantine court, which are likewise mentioned by Zosimus, *G.* v. 2, p. 302.

the provincials, and the crimes of Gildo, to the Roman senate; and the members of that venerable assembly were required to pronounce the condemnation of the rebel. Their unanimous suffrage declared him the enemy of the republic; and the decree of the senate added a sacred and legitimate sanction to the Roman arms.* A people, who still remembered, that their ancestors had been the masters of the world, would have applauded, with conscious pride, the representation of ancient freedom; if they had not long since been accustomed to prefer the solid assurance of bread, to the unsubstantial visions of liberty and greatness. The subsistence of Rome depended on the harvests of Africa; and it was evident, that a declaration of war would be the signal of famine. The prefect Symmachus, who presided in the deliberations of the senate, admonished the minister of his just apprehension, that as soon as the revengeful Moor should prohibit the exportation of corn, the tranquillity, and perhaps the safety, of the capital, would be threatened by the hungry rage of a turbulent multitude.† The prudence of Stilicho conceived, and executed, without delay, the most effectual measure for the relief of the Roman people.‡ A large and seasonable supply of corn, collected in the inland provinces of Gaul, was

* Symmachus *G. IV.* epist. 35 expresses the judicial form of the senate; and Claudian *in* *Cons. Stilicis* l. i. 321, 323 seems to find the spirit of a Roman.

† Claudian barely displays these emptions of Symmachus in a speech of the praetor of Rome, before the throne of Jupiter, *the Bell. Gildon* 25-118.

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embarked on the rapid stream of the Rhone, and transported, by an easy navigation, from the Rhone to the Tiber. During the whole term of the African war, the granaries of Rome were continually filled, her dignity was vindicated from the humiliating dependence, and the minds of an immense people were quieted by the calm confidence of peace and plenty.¹

THE AFRICAN WAR,
A. D. 206.

The cause of Rome, and the conduct of the African war, were intrusted by Scipio, to a general, active and ardent to avenge his private injuries on the head of the tyrant. The spirit of discord, which prevailed in the house of Numid, had excited a deadly quarrel between two of his sons, Gildo and Mascezel.* The former pursued, with implacable rage, the life of his younger brother, whose courage and abilities he feared; and Mascezel, oppressed by superior power, took refuge in the court of Milan; where he soon received the cruel intelligence, that his two innocent and helpless children had been murdered by their inhuman uncle. The affliction of the father was suspended only by the desire of revenge. The vigilant Scipio already prepared to collect the naval and military forces of the western empire; and he had resolved, if the tyrant should be able to wage an equal and doubtful war, to march against him in person. But as Italy required his

* See Claudius, *de Remo*, l. 1, 601, &c. (1 Claud. *SOL* l. 1, 228, &c. ; *de Firmo*, *Stilico*, 91, &c.)

* He was of a warmer age; than he had formerly (l. 11, 205) acted against his brother Firmus, (*Ammonius*, *gest.*, 5). Claudius, who understood the court of Milan, dwelt on the injuries rather than the merits of Mascezel, (*de Bell. Gall.*, 286-314). The Moorish war was not worthy of Honorius, or Stilicho, &c.

presence, and as it might be dangerous to weaken the defence of the frontier, he judged it more advisable, that Marcellus should attempt this audacious adventure, at the head of a chosen body of Gallic veterans, who had lately served under the standard of Eugenius. These troops, who were exhorted to convince the world that they could subvert, as well as defend, the throne of an usurper, consisted of the *Jovian*, the *Horatiana*, and the *Augusta*, legions; of the *Nervia* auxiliaries; of the soldiers, who displayed in their banners the symbol of a lion, and of the troops which were distinguished by the auspicious names of *Fortunate*, and *Invincible*. Yet such was the smallness of their establishments, or the difficulty of recruiting, that these seven bands,* of high dignity and reputation in the service of Rome, amounted to no more than five thousand effective men.² The fleet of galleys and transports sailed in tempestuous weather from the port of Pisa, in Tuscany, and steered their course to the little island of Capriaria; which had borrowed that name from the wild goats, its original inhabitants, whose place was now occupied by a new colony of a strange and savage appearance.

* Cluverius, *Ital. G. G.* 425-426. The strength of discipline allowed him to use indifferently the names of *Legio*, *Cohors*, *Ala*, *Palatium*. See the *Notitia* *Papiri*, l. 28, 40.

† Orosius (l. vi. c. 34, p. 363) qualifies this account with no expression of doubt. *Id. ibid.* and it accords well with the *Imagines* *sculps.* of *Domitian*, (l. i. p. 183). Yet Cluverius, after some discussion about Calpurn's military, frankly avers, that *Julius* sent a small force; but the *num.* should be, as *Quintus* *Metellus*, (l. *Caes. Bithyn.* c. 1. 314, 304).

CHAP. " The whole island (says an ingenious traveller of
 XXX. " those times) is filled, or rather defiled, by men,
 " who fly from the light. They call themselves
 " *Monks*, or solitaries, because they choose to
 " live alone, without any witnesses of their ac-
 " tions. They fear the gifts of fortune, from
 " the apprehension of losing them; and, lest
 " they should be miserable, they embrace a life
 " of voluntary wretchedness. How absurd is
 " their choice! how perverse their understanding!
 " to dread the evils, without being able to sup-
 " port the blessings, of the human condition.
 " Either this melancholy madness is the effect of
 " disease, or else the consciousness of guilt urges
 " these unhappy men to exercise on their own
 " bodies the tortures which are inflicted on fugi-
 " tive slaves by the hand of justice." Such
 was the contempt of a profane magistrate for the
 monks of Capraria, who were revered, by the
 pious Masezel, as the chosen servants of God.*
 Some of them were persuaded, by his entreaties,
 to embark on board the fleet; and it is observed, to
 the praise of the Roman general, that his days and
 nights were employed in prayer, fasting, and the
 occupation of singing psalms. The devout leader,

* Claud. Rutil. Numatius. *Itinerar.* l. 136-146. He afterwards (151-207) becomes a religious madman in the Isle of Gorgona. For such profane remarks, Rutilius, and his accomplices, are styled, by his commentators, *Barthius, rabbei causa diaboli*. Tillamont (*Mém. Eclési.* tom. xii. p. 471) more strongly observes, that the un-
 believing poet prates where he means to scold.

* Orosius, l. vii. c. 38, p. 664. Augustin summons two of these
 savage solists of the Isle of Gorga, *scilicet* *lexxi*, *scilicet* Tillamont, *Mém.*
Eclési. tom. xii. p. 317, and Barroquet. *Annal. Eclési.* A. D. 1153,
 N°. 11.

who, with such a reinforcement, appeared confident of victory, avoided the dangerous rocks of Corsica, coasted along the eastern side of Sardinia, and secured his ships against the violence of the south-wind, by casting anchor in the safe and capacious harbour of Cagliari, at the distance of one hundred and forty miles from the African shores.¹

CHAP.
XXIX.

Gildo was prepared to resist the invasion with all the forces of Africa. By the liberality of his gifts and promises, he endeavoured to secure the doubtful allegiance of the Roman soldiers; whilst he attracted to his standard the distant tribes of Gæthulia and Ethiopia. He proudly reviewed an army of seventy thousand men, and boasted, with the rash presumption which is the forerunner of disgrace, that his numerous cavalry would trample under their horses' feet the troops of Maxentius, and involve, in a cloud of burning sun, the natives of the cold regions of Gaul and Germany. But the Moor, who commanded the legions of Hunericus, was too well acquainted with the manners of his countrymen, to entertain any serious apprehension of a naked and disorderly host of barbarians; whose left arm, instead of a shield, was protected only by a mantle; who were totally scorched as soon as they had darted their javelin from their right hand; and whose horses

Defeat and
Death of
Gildo,
A. D. 298.

* After the first book of the Gildonic war is terminated. The rest of Claudian's poem has been lost, and we are ignorant how, or where, the army made good their landing in Africa.

¹ Gildo must be responsible for the account. The pretensions of Gildo, and his various train of barbarians, is related by Claudian, *l. viii. v. 113-127*.

CHAP. had never been taught to bear the controul, or
XXIX. to obey the guidance, of the bridle. He fixed
his camp of five thousand veterans in the face of
a superior enemy, and, after the delay of three
days, gave the signal of a general engagement.*
As Mavortius advanced before the front with fair
offers of peace and pardon, he encountered one
of the foremost standard-bearers of the Africans,
and, on his refusal to yield, struck him on the
arm with his sword. The arm, and the standard,
sunk under the weight of the blow; and the
imaginary act of submission was hastily repented
by all the standards of the line. At this signal,
the disaffected cohorts proclaimed the name of
their lawful sovereign; the barbarians, astonished
by the defection of their Roman allies, dispersed,
according to their custom, in tumultuary flight:
and Mavortius obtained the honours of an easy,
and almost bloodless, victory.† The tyrant
escaped from the field of battle to the sea-shore;
and threw himself into a small vessel, with the
hope of reaching in safety some friendly port of
the empire of the East; but the obstinacy of the
wind drove him back into the harbour of Ta-
braca,‡ which had acknowledged, with the rest

* St. Ammon, who had been dead about a year, appeared, in a vision, the time and place of the victory. Mavortius afterwards related his dream to Paulinus, the original biographer of the emperor, from whom it might easily pass to Orosius.

† *Expositio* &c. v. p. 205, supposes an enormous number; but the narrative of Orosius appears to contain a good hint, under the figure of a miracle.

‡ Taken by mistake, the two Hippas, (Galliarum, tom. ii. p. 64. p. 112.) & Amille; tom. iii. p. 81. Orosius has distinctly named the field of battle, but our ignorance cannot follow the precise situation.

of the province, the dominion of Honorius, and the authority of his lieutenant. The inhabitants, as a proof of their repentance and loyalty, seized and confined the person of Gildo in a dungeon; and his own despair saved him from the intolérable torture of supporting the presence of an injured, and victorious, brother.⁴ The captives, and the spoils, of Africa, were laid at the feet of the emperor; but Stilicho, whose moderation appeared more conspicuous, and more sincere, in the midst of prosperity, still affected to consult the laws of the republic, and referred to the senate and people of Rome the judgment of the most illustrious criminals.⁵ Their trial was public and solemn; but the judges, in the exercise of this absolute and precarious jurisdiction, were impatient to punish the African magistrates, who had intercepted the subsistence of the Roman people. The rich and guilty province was oppressed by the imperial ministers, who had a visible interest to multiply the number of the accomplices of Gildo; and if an edict of Honorius seems to check the malicious industry of informers, a subsequent edict, at the distance of ten

⁴ The death of Gildo is expressed by Claudian, *Il. Cons. Stilic.* l. 240, and his last interpreters, Zosimus and Orosius.

⁵ Claudian (*Il. Cons. Stilic.* 100-112) describes their trial, *Interrogant Africa reges, vocant vestra rostra, et appella-
tionem atq. iudicis constitutionem.* It is here that he introduces the famous sentence, so familiar to the friends of despotism—

Nemoquam alienus poterit esset.

Quam sub regis pte.—

But the sentence, which denotes an equal party, never is observed in any application.

CHAP.
XXIX.

years, continues and renews the prosecution of the offences which had been committed in the time of the general rebellion.¹ The adherents of the tyrant, who escaped the first fury of the soldiers, and the judges, might derive some consolation from the tragic fate of his brother, who could never obtain his pardon for the extraordinary services which he had performed. After he had finished an important war in the space of a single winter, Masezel was received at the court of Milan with loud applause, affected gratitude, and secret jealousy;² and his death, which, perhaps, was the effect of accident, has been considered as the crime of Stilicho. In the passage of a bridge, the Moorish prince, who accompanied the master-general of the West, was suddenly thrown from his horse into the river; the officious haste of the attendants was restrained by a cruel and perfidious smile, which they observed on the countenance of Stilicho; and while they delayed the necessary assistance, the unfortunate Masezel was irrecoverably drowned.³

Marriage,
and the
marriage of
Honorius,
A. D. 398.

The joy of the African triumph was happily connected with the nuptials of the emperor Honorius, and of his cousin Maria, the daughter of Stilicho: and this equal and honourable alliance

¹ See the Theodosian Code, l. 15, tit. xxix, leg. 5; tit. 31, leg. 18.

² Stilicho, who claimed no equal share in all the victories of Theodorus and his son, particularly asserts, that Africa was recovered by the valour of his cousin; see his inscription published by Burmann.

³ I have followed the narrative of Zosimus, which, in its rude simplicity, is almost incredible, d. 4, p. 234. Orosius blames the victorious general (p. 328) for violating the right of sanctuary.

CLAUD.
XXIX.

seemed to invest the powerful minister with the authority of a parent over his submissive pupil. The muse of Claudian was not silent on this propitious day;* he sung, in various and lively strains, the happiness of the royal pair; and the glory of the hero, who confirmed their union, and supported their throne. The ancient fables of Greece, which had almost ceased to be the object of religious faith, were saved from oblivion by the genius of poetry. The picture of the Cyprian grove, the seat of harmony and love; the triumphant progress of Venus over her native isles, and the mild influence which her presence diffused in the palace of Milan, express to every age the natural sentiments of the heart, in the just and pleasing language of allegorical fiction. But the amorous impatience, which Claudian attributes to the young prince,† must excite the smiles of the court; and his beautiful spouse (if she deserved the praise of beauty) had not much to fear or to hope from the passions of her lover. Honorius was only in the fourteenth year

* Claudian, in the poet laureat, composed a *consolatio* and *epithalamium* of 240 lines (besides some 203 *Fastorum*), which were sung, in a most decent manner, on the wedding night.

—— Calix abbas fex

Jun. principis, in domoque regis, decemque senat.

Multa tulit, stupor, exequens.

the Nuptials of Honorius and Maria, 381), and more fully in the *Fraternitas*, (112-120).

Thene, Ogestis, hoc tulit dactylis

Quam distat dactylis quatuor, Sargallus

Tum vixit, madidus phœbus, leas

Neptunus referens, videret, parat.

WHAT, of his age; Sorcina, the mother of his bride, deferred, by act or permission, the consummation of the royal nuptials; Maria died a virgin, after she had been ten years a wife; and the chastity of the emperor was secured by the coldness, or, perhaps, the debility, of his constitution.* His subjects, who attentively studied the character of their young sovereign, discovered that Honorius was without passions, and consequently without talents; and that his feeble and languid disposition was unlike incapable of discharging the duties of his rank, or of enjoying the pleasures of his age. In his early youth he made some progress in the exercises of riding and drawing the bow; but he soon relinquished these fatiguing occupations, and the amusement of feeding poultry became the serious and daily care of the monarch of the West,[†] who resigned the reins of empire to the firm and skilful hand of his guardian Stilicho. The experience of history will countenance the suspicion, that a prince who was born in the purple, received a worse education than the meanest peasant of his dominions; and that the ambitious minister suffered him to attain the age of manhood, without attempting to excite his courage, or to enlighten his understanding.[‡]

* See Zosimus, l. i. p. 371.

† Procopius de Bell. Gothica, l. i. c. 2. I have borrowed the general practice of Honorius, without adopting the details; such as *indulgere imperialis cubi*, which is copied by the Greek historians.

‡ The history of Theodosius, or rather Claudius, (or, *Cons. Honor. 214-446*, might suggest a due instruction for the future prince of a great and free nation. It was the case of Honorius, and his dissipated subjects.

The predecessors of Honorius were accustomed to animate, by their example, or at least by their presence, the valour of the legions: and the dates of their lives attest the perpetual activity of their motions through the provinces of the Roman world. But the son of Theodosius passed the chamber of his life, a captive in his palace, a stranger in his country, and the patient, almost the indifferent, spectator of the ruin of the western empire, which was repeatedly attacked, and finally subverted, by the arms of the barbarians. In the eventful history of a reign of twenty-eight years, it will seldom be necessary to mention the name of the emperor Honorius.

CHAP. XXX.

Result of the Goths.—They plunder Greece.—Two great invasions of Italy by Alaric and Radegundis.—They are expelled by Stilicho.—The Germans overrun Gaul.—Usurpation of Constantine in the West.—Diogenes and death of Stilicho.

CHAP.
XXX.

*Result of
the Goths,
A. D. 382.*

IF the subjects of Rome could be ignorant of their obligations to the great Theodosius, they were too soon convinced, how painfully the spirit and abilities of their deceased emperor had supported the frail and mouldering edifice of the republic. He died in the month of January: and before the end of the winter of the same year, the Gothic nation was in arms.* The barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent standard; and boldly avowed the hostile designs which they had long cherished in their ferocious minds. Their countrymen, who had been condemned, by the conditions of the last treaty, to a life of tranquillity and labour, deserted their farms at the first sound of the trumpet; and eagerly resumed the weapons which they had reluctantly laid down. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open; the savage warriors of Scythia issued from their forests; and the uncommon severity of the winter allowed the poet to remark, " that they

* The revolt of the Goths, and the blockade of Constantinople, are distinctly mentioned by Claudian, *in Rufin.* l. v. 7-1802; *Lucan.* 1. v. p. 494; and Jerome, *de Reb. Geticis*, c. 26.

colled their ponderous waggons over the broad
 "and icy back of the indignant river."¹ The
 unhappy natives of the provinces to the south of
 the Danube, submitted to the calamities, which,
 in the course of twenty years, were almost grown
 familiar to their imagination; and the various
 troops of barbarians, who gloried in the Gothic
 name, were irregularly spread from the woody
 shores of Dalmatia, to the walls of Constantino-
 ple. The interruption, or at least the diminution,
 of the subsidy, which the Goths had received
 from the prudent liberality of Theodosius, was
 the specious pretence of their revolt: the affront
 was embittered by their contempt for the unwar-
 like sons of Theodosius; and their resentment
 was inflamed by the weakness, or treachery, of
 the minister of Arcadius. The frequent visits of
 Rufinus to the camp of the barbarians, whose
 arms and apparel he affected to imitate, were
 considered as a sufficient evidence of his guilty
 correspondence: and the public enemy, from a
 motive either of gratitude or of policy, was
 attentive, amidst the general devastation, to spare
 the private estates of the unpopular prefect. The

CHAP.
XXX.

— All per longa ferula
 Demoliti militibus castris: expugnatae omnes
 Fregunt singula vallia.

Chaulius and Ovid often amuse their fancy, by interchanging the met-
 aphors and properties of liquid water, and solid ice. Much labour was
 here expended in this easy exercise.

¹ Jozeff, tom. i. p. 22. He endeavours to comfort his friend Helio-
 dorus, bishop of Arianus, for the loss of his nephew Nepotian, by a
 verbal permutation of all the public and private institutions of the
 times. See Tillamont, Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins. et. Belles Lett. t. vi. p. 220, &c.

CHAP.

XXX.

GOTHIC.

Goths, instead of being impelled by the blind and headstrong passions of their chiefs, were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. That renowned leader was descended from the noble race of the Balti;^a which yielded only to the royal dignity of the Amali: he had solicited the command of the Roman armies; and the imperial court provoked him to demonstrate the folly of their refusal, and the importance of their loss. Whatever hopes might be entertained of the conquest of Constantinople, the judicious general soon abandoned an impracticable enterprise. In the midst of a divided court, and a discontented people, the emperor Arcadius was terrified by the aspect of the Gothic arms: but the want of wisdom and valour was supplied by the strength of the city; and the fortifications, both of the sea and land, might securely brave the impotent and random darts of the barbarians. Alaric disdained to trample any longer on the prostrate and ruined countries of Thrace and Dacia, and he resolved to seek a plentiful harvest of fame and riches in a province which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war.^b

^a *Asila*, or *Asil*—*asila*—*asila*, says Jornandes, iv. 29. This illustrates their long continued sojourn in France in the Gothic provinces of Septimania, or Languedoc; under the corrupted appellation of *Asila*; and a branch of that family afterwards settled in the kingdom of Naples, (Grotius in Prolegom. ad Hist. Gothor. p. 22). The lands of *Asila*, near *Asila*, and of seventy-nine subordinate places, were independent of the counts of Provence, (Languedoc, Description de la France, tom. 1, p. 227).

^b *Asila* (A. V. p. 222-223) is our best guide for the conquest of Greece; but the hints and allusion of Claudian are no many rays of historical light.

The character of the civil and military officers, in whom Rufinus had devolved the government of Greece, confirmed the public suspicion, that he had betrayed the ancient seat of freedom and learning to the Gothic invader. The proconsul Antiochus was the unworthy son of a respectable father; and Gerontius, who commanded the provincial troops, was much better qualified to execute the oppressive orders of a tyrant, than to defend, with courage and ability, a country most remarkably fortified by the hand of nature. Alaric had traversed, without resistance, the plains of Macedonia and Thessaly, as far as the foot of Mount Oeta, a steep and woody range of hills, almost impervious to his cavalry. They stretched from east to west, to the edge of the sea-shore; and left between the precipice and the Malian gulf, an interval of three hundred feet, which, in some places, was contracted to a road capable of admitting only a single carriage.¹ In this narrow pass of Thermopylae, where Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans had gloriously devoted their lives, the Goths might have been stopped, or destroyed, by a skilful general; and perhaps the view of that sacred spot might have kindled some sparks of military ardour in the breasts of the degenerate Greeks. The troops which had been posted to defend the straits of Thermopylae, retired, as they were directed, without attempting to disturb the secure and rapid passage

CHAP.
XXX.
Alaric
marches
into
Greece,
A. D. 396

¹ Compare Herodotus, II. xli, s. 116, and Livy, xxxvi, 13. The narrow entrance of Greece was actually enlarged by such successive invasions.



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XXX.

of Marone, and the fertile fields of Phocis, and Boeotia, were instantly ravaged by a deluge of barbarians; who massacred the males of an age to bear arms, and drove away the beautiful females, with the spoil, and cattle, of the standing villages. The travellers, who visited Greece several years afterwards, could easily discover the deep and bloody traces of the march of the Goths; and Thales was less incited for her preservation to the strength of her seven gates, than to the eager lusts of Marone, who advanced to occupy the city of Athens, and the important harbour of the Piræus. The same impatience urged him to prevent the delay and danger of a siege, by the offer of a capitulation; and as soon as the Athenians heard the voice of the Gothic herald, they were easily persuaded to deliver the greatest part of their wealth, as the ransom of the city of Marone, and its inhabitants. The treaty was ratified by solemn oaths, and observed with mutual fidelity. The Gothic prince, with a small and select train, was admitted within the walls: he indulged himself in the refreshment of the bath, accepted a splendid banquet which was provided by the magistrate, and affected to shew that he was not ignorant of the manners of civilized nations.* But the whole territory of Attica,

* He passed, says Plutarch, (in Vit. Philopon. p. 93. edit. Cambrigiæ, 1599.) through the streets, in two wheelers [of Theophrastus] horses, every two yoked, and drove past with a page.

* In *Strabon*, in *Justin*, and *Claudius*, (in *Strab.* l. ii. 141.) I have traced some farther notices to the wild representation of Zoroaster, who is said to have been the saviour of Athens.

from the promontory of Sanium to the town of Megara, was blasted by his baleful presence; and, if we may use the comparison of a contemporary philosopher, Athens itself resembled the bleeding and empty skin of a slaughtered victim. The distance between Megara and Corinth could not much exceed thirty miles; but the *bad road*, an expressive name, which it still bears among the Greeks, was, or might easily have been made, impassable for the march of an enemy. The thick and gloomy woods of Mount Cithæron covered the inland country; the Scironian rocks approached the water's edge, and hung over the narrow and winding path, which was confined above six miles along the sea-shore.¹ The passage of those rocks, so infamous in every age, was terminated by the isthmus of Corinth; and a small body of firm and intrepid soldiers might have successfully defended a temporary intrenchment of five or six miles from the Ionian to the Ægean sea. The confidence of the cities of Peloponnesus in their natural rampart, had tempted them to

Non fœda Cereoplas truncantur, vincula fractis.

Tyrantius (Epist. lib. i. p. 172, edit. Pons.) observes, that Athens, in those early ages, being given to the philosopher's avocations, it is as that time less famous for her schools of philosophy than for her trade of honey.

— *Vallata erant Scironia ripæ,*

Et duo continui convectus aquæ intra

Perfusus. —

Quodius de Bell. Græc. lib. 2.

The Scironian rocks are described by Pausanias (lib. i. c. 44, p. 107, edit. Kuhn), and our modern travellers, Wharton (p. 439), and Clavelius (p. 128). Hædiger adds the road possible for two carriages.

CHAP.
XXX.

neglect the care of their antique walls; and the avarice of the Roman governors had exhausted and betrayed the unhappy province.* Corinth, Argos, Sparta, yielded without resistance to the arms of the Goths; and the most fortunate of the inhabitants were saved, by death, from beholding the slavery of their families, and the conflagration of their cities.[†] The vases and statues were distributed among the barbarians, with more regard to the value of the materials, than to the elegance of the workmanship; the female captives submitted to the laws of war; the enjoyment of beauty was the reward of valour; and the Greeks could not reasonably complain of an abuse, which was justified by the example of the heroic times.[‡] The descendants of that extraordinary people, who had considered valour and discipline as the walls of Sparta, no longer remembered the generous reply of their ancestors to an invader more formidable than Alaric. “If thou art a god, thou wilt not hurt those who have never injured thee; if thou art a man,

* Claudian (*in Rufin.* l. v. 168, and *de Bello Getico*, 611, &c.) vaguely, though forcibly, delineates the scene of rapine and destruction.

† The passage *desertis æque præcipiti*, &c. These precious books of Homer (*Odys.* l. v. 308) were transmitted by one of the captive youths of Corinth; and the tears of Hymanus may prove that the rude conqueror, though he was ignorant of the value of so precious a piece, possessed the purest source of goodness, a benevolent heart; (*Plutarch, Symposiæ* l. ix. num. 96. p. 127, edit. Werbel.).

‡ Homer perpetually describes the exemplary justice of these female captives, who give their charms, and even their hearts, to the warriors of their fathers, brothers, &c. Such a passion for Kriphile for Achilles is treated with admirable delicacy by Rutilius.

"advance,—and then wilt find men equal to thyself."* From Thermopylae to Sparta, the leader of the Goths pursued his victorious march without encountering any mortal antagonists: but one of the advocates of expiring paganism has confidently asserted, that the walls of Athens were guarded by the goddess Minerva, with her formidable *Egis*, and by the angry phantom of Achilles;† and that the conqueror was dismayed by the presence of the hostile deities of Greece. In an age of miracles, it would perhaps be unjust to dispute the claim of the historian Zosimus to the common benefit: yet it cannot be dissembled, that the mind of Alaric was ill prepared to receive, either in sleeping or waking visions, the impressions of Greek superstition. The songs of Homer, and the fame of Achilles, had probably never reached the ear of the illiterate barbarian; and the Christian faith, which he had devoutly embraced, taught him to despise the imaginary deities of Rome and Athens. The invasion of the Goths, instead of vindicating the honour, contributed, at least accidentally, to extirpate the last remains of paganism; and the mysteries of Ceres, which had subsisted eighteen hundred

* Ptolemy (in *Pythia*, *hist.* li, p. 471, edit. Bruns) gives the genuine answer to the Lacedæmonian. Pythius attacked Sparta with 55,000 foot, 2,000 horse, and 24 elephants; and the defence of that city is a fine comment on the fate of Lyongra, even in the last stage of decay.

† Such, perhaps, as Homer (*Il.* xi, 163) has so nobly painted him.

CHAP. years, did not survive the destruction of Eleusis,
XXX and the calamities of Greece.²

He is at- The last hope of a people who could no longer
tacked by depend on their arms, their gods, or their over-
Stilicho, reign, was placed in the powerful assistance of the
A. D. 397. general of the West: and Stilicho, who had not
been permitted to repulse, advanced to chastise,
the invaders of Greece.³ A numerous fleet was
equipped in the ports of Italy: and the troops, after
a short and prosperous navigation over the Ionian
sea, were safely disembarked on the isthmus, near
the ruins of Corinth. The woody and mountainous
country of Arcadia, the fabulous residence of Pan
and the Dryads, became the scene of a long and
doubtful conflict between two generals not un-
worthy of each other. The skill and perseverance
of the Roman at length prevailed; and the Goths,
after sustaining a considerable loss from disease
and desertion, gradually retreated to the lofty
mountain of Pholoe, near the sources of the
Peneus, and on the frontiers of Elis; a sacred
country, which had formerly been exempted from
the calamities of war.⁴ The camp of the bar-

² Eusebius (in Vit. Palladium, p. 90-95) intimates, that a troop of monks betrayed Greece, and followed the Gothic army.

³ For Stilicho's Greek war, compare the honest narrative of Zosimus, (l. i. c. 23, 24, 26), with the various circumstantial history of Claudius, (5 Cons. Stilic. l. IXX-128); (6 Cons. Hist. 433-457). As the result was not glorious, it is carefully thrown into the shade.

⁴ The troops who marched through Elis delivered up their arms. Philaemius enriched the Elisians, who were lovers of a rural life. Riches legal gains; they disdained their privileges, and they suffered. Polybius advises them to retire into more within their single circle. See a

barians was immediately besieged: the waters of the river were diverted into another channel; and while they laboured under the intolerable pressure of thirst and hunger, a strong line of circumvallation was formed to prevent their escape. After these precautions, Stilicho, too confident of victory, retired to enjoy his triumph, in the theatrical games, and lascivious dances, of the Greeks; his soldiers, deserting their standards, spread themselves over the country of their allies, which they stripped of all that had been saved from the rapacious hands of the enemy. Alaric appears to have seized the favourable moment to execute one of those hardy enterprises, in which the abilities of a general are displayed with more genuine lustre, than in the tumult of a day of battle. To extricate himself from the prison of Peloponnesus, it was necessary that he should pierce the intrenchments which surrounded his camp; that he should perform a difficult and dangerous march of thirty miles, as far as the gulf of Corinth; and that he should transport his troops, his captives, and his spoil, over an arm of the sea, which, in the narrow interval

turned and judicious discourse on the Olympic games, which Mrs. Winstanley prefaced to her translation of *Florus*.

Chandler (*his is* *Class. Hist.* 400) alludes to the fact, without naming the river; perhaps the *Alpheus*, or *Corinth*, *Strab.* l. 1, 183.

— D. *Alpheus* *Georgii* *negligens* *alpheus*.

Tullius *ad* *Strabonem* *etiam* *pergit* *alpheus*.

Yet *Lalonde* *pours* the *Pamisos*, a shallow stream in a wide and deep bed, which runs through *Elle*, and falls into the sea below *Cyrene*. It had been joined with the *Alpheus*, to enhance the *Myriam* *stable*, (*Callistinus*, *loc.* l. p. 180. *Chandler's* *Truth*, p. 210).

CHAP.
XXX.

Europe to
Epirus.

between Rhium and the opposite shore, is at least half a mile in breadth.* The operations of Alaric must have been secret, prudent, and rapid; since the Roman general was confounded by the intelligence, that the Goths, who had eluded his efforts, were in full possession of the important province of Epirus. This unfortunate delay allowed Alaric sufficient time to conclude the treaty, which he secretly negotiated, with the ministers of Constantinople. The apprehension of a civil war compelled Stilicho to retire, at the haughty mandate of his rivals, from the dominions of Arcadius; and he respected, in the enemy of Rome, the honourable character of the ally and servant of the emperor of the East.

Alaric is
declared
master-
general of
the eastern
Empire,
A. D. 395.

A Grecian philosopher,* who visited Constantinople soon after the death of Theodosius, published his liberal opinions concerning the duties of kings, and the state of the Roman republic. Synesius observes, and deploras, the fatal abuse, which the imprudent bounty of the late emperor had introduced into the military service. The citizens, and subjects, had purchased an exemption from the indispensable duty of defending their country; which was supported by the arms

* Strabo, l. vii. p. 327. Flor. Hist. Roman. iv. A. Wheeler, p. 108. Chandler, p. 173. They considered, from different points, the distance between the two lands.

* Synesius passed three years (A. D. 392-400) at Constantinople, as deputy from Cyrene to the emperor Arcadius. He presented him with a crown of gold, and procured for him the posthumous crown of the Regis, (p. 124, with Petai. Paris, 1618). The philosopher was made bishop of Ptolemais, A. D. 410, and died about 426. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. iii. p. 409, 441, 625-626.

of barbarian mercenaries. The fugitives of Scythia were permitted to disgrace the illustrious dignities of the empire; their ferocious youth, who disclaimed the salutary restraint of laws, were more anxious to acquire the riches, than to imitate the arts, of a people, the object of their contempt and hatred; and the power of the Goths was the stone of Tantalus, perpetually suspended over the peace and safety of the devoted state.¹ The measures, which Synesius recommends, are the dictates of a bold and generous patriot. He exhorts the emperor to revive the courage of his subjects, by the example of manly virtue; to banish luxury from the court, and from the camp; to substitute, in the place of the barbarian mercenaries, an army of men, interested in the defence of their laws and of their property; to force, in such a moment of public danger, the mechanic from his shop, and the philosopher from his school; to rouse the indolent citizen from his dream of pleasure, and to arm, for the protection of agriculture, the hands of the laborious husbandman. At the head of such troops, who might deserve the name, and would display the spirit, of Romans, he animates the son of Theodosius to encounter a race of barbarians, who were destitute of any real courage; and never to lay down his arms, till he had chased them far away into the solitudes of Scythia; or had reduced them to the state of ignominious servitude, which the Lacedæmonians formerly imposed on the captive Helots.* The court of Arcadius in-

¹ *Synesius de Regis*, p. 11-12.

CHAP. X.
duiged the zeal, applauded the eloquence, and neglected the advice, of Synesius. Perhaps the philosopher, who addresses the emperor of the East, in the language of reason and virtue, which he might have used to a Spartan king, had not condescended to form a practicable scheme, consistent with the temper, and circumstances, of a degenerate age. Perhaps the pride of the ministers, whose business was seldom interrupted by reflection, might reject, as wild and visionary, every proposal, which exceeded the measure of their capacity, and deviated from the forms and precedents of office. While the oration of Synesius, and the downfall of the barbarians, were the topics of popular conversation, an edict was published at Constantinople, which declared the promotion of Alaric to the rank of master-general of the eastern Illyricum. The Roman provincials, and the allies, who had respected the faith of treaties, were justly indignant, that the ruin of Greece and Epirus should be so liberally rewarded. The Gothic conqueror was received as a lawful magistrate, in the cities which he had so lately besieged. The fathers, whose sons he had massacred, the husbands, whose wives he had violated, were subject to his authority: and the success of his rebellion encouraged the ambition of every leader of the foreign mercenaries. The use to which Alaric applied his new command, distinguishes the firm and judicious character of his policy. He issued his orders to the four magazines and manufactures of offensive and defensive arms, Margus, Ratiaria, Nais-

aus, and Thessalonica, to provide his troops with an extraordinary supply of shields, helmets, swords, and spears: the unhappy provincials were compelled to forge the instruments of their own destruction; and the barbarians removed the only defect which had sometimes disappointed the efforts of their courage. The birth of Alaric, the glory of his past exploits, and the confidence in his future designs, inseparably united the body of the nation under his victorious standard; and with the unanimous consent of the barbarian chieftains, the master-general of Illyricum was elevated, according to ancient custom, on a shield, and solemnly proclaimed king of the Visigoths. Armed with this double power, seated on the verge of the two empires, he alternately sold his deceitful promises to the courts of Arcadius, and Honorius: till he declared, and executed, his resolution of invading the dominions of the West. The provinces of Europe which belonged to the

CHAPTER 1

and King
of the V.I.
1911

Humus: qui vocatur, eget / constanti Arborum
Succo, et Fervore, quod vegetabilis natura
Pervulsi filivore: Jura, quod abscondit, mittit
Ingratit immixti: illic respondet flammæ
Quæritur, cuiuslibet virtutis, officina, perennis

Number in Entries 1 & 212. - Always applies to the entry, i.e. Entry 100, 225-212, is the one which he had made of this type of belief.

² J. Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, p. 431. The French Minister told, with obvious delight, that such differences about such issues created representative character for strong democracy.

— Hincque colligitur utrumq; etiam Orbis.
Nam una via totius distinetur Oceani Reflex.
Eodem ex alteram maxima constituit solus

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CHAP.
XXX.He invades
Italy,
A. D. 408-
409.

eastern emperor, were already exhausted; those of Asia were inaccessible; and the strength of Constantinople had resisted his attack. But he was tempted by the fame, the beauty, the wealth of Italy, which he had twice visited; and he secretly aspired to plant the Gothic standard on the walls of Rome, and to enrich his army with the accumulated spoils of three hundred triumphs.³

The scarcity of facts,⁴ and the uncertainty of dates,⁵ oppose our attempts to describe the circumstances of the first invasion of Italy by the arms of Alaric. His march, perhaps from Thessalonica, through the warlike and hostile country of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; his passage of those mountains, which were strongly guarded by troops and intrenchments; the siege of Aquileia, and the conquest of the provinces of Istria and Venetia, appear to have employed a considerable time. Unless his operations were extremely cautious and slow, the

³ *Alaricus Italiae optata penetravit ad Urbem.*

This ambitious predilection was sanctioned by Alaric, or at least by Claudian; (the *Bell. Getic.* 547), seven years before the event. But as it was not accomplished within the term which has been ascribed to it, the alliteration escaped through an ambiguous meaning.

⁴ Our best materials are 920 verses of Claudian, in the poem on the Gothic war, and the beginning of that which celebrating the 10th anniversary of Honorius. Zosimus is totally silent, and we are reduced to such scraps, or rather guesses, as we can pick from Orosius and the Chronicles.

⁵ Notwithstanding the gross errors of Jornandes, who confounds the Italian wars of Alaric, p. 29, his date of the consulship of Albinus and Avellian (A. D. 408) is firm and respectable. It is certain from Claudian, (Chronicon, *Hist. des Emp.* tom. v, p. 404), that the battle of Pollentia was fought A. D. 402; but we cannot easily fix the interval.

length of the interval would suggest a probable suspicion, that the Gothic king retreated towards the banks of the Danube; and reinforced his army with fresh swarms of barbarians, before he again attempted to penetrate into the heart of Italy. Since the public and important events escape the diligence of the historian, he may amuse himself with contemplating, for a moment, the influence of the arms of Alaric on the fortunes of two obscure individuals, a presbyter of Aquileia, and an husbandman of Verona. The learned Rufinus, who was summoned by his enemies to appear before a Roman synod,* wisely preferred the dangers of a besieged city: and the barbarians, who furiously shook the walls of Aquileia, might save him from the cruel sentence of another heretic, who, at the request of the same bishops, was severely whipped, and condemned to perpetual exile on a desert island.² The *old man*,³ who had passed his simple and innocent life in the neighbourhood of Verona, was a stranger to the

* Tantum Romanæ urbis iustitiam fugio, ut inquit viderentur barbaricum, quam pariter urbis iudicium velle sustinere. *Jerom.* tom. ii. p. 216. Rufinus understood his own danger: the peaceful city was inflamed by the bellum Marcian, and the rest of Jerom's faction.

² Jovinian, the enemy of Basil and of calixtus, who was persecuted and hunted by the famous Jerom (Justin's Remarks, vol. iv. p. 101, &c.). See the original act of Jovinianus in the Theodosian Code, lib. vi. c. 12, leg. 12.

³ This epigram (de Sena Verona) quæ substatim subsequens epigramata est: is one of the earliest and most pleasing compositions of Claudian; Cowley's imitation (Hurd's edition, vol. ii. p. 341) has some natural and happy strokes: but it is much inferior to the original portrait, which is evidently drawn from the life.

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XIX.

quarrels both of kings and of bishops: his pleasures, his desires, his knowledge, were confined within the little circle of his paternal farm; and a staff supported his aged steps, on the same ground where he had sported in his infancy. Yet even this humble and rustic felicity, (which Claudian describes with so much truth and feeling), was still exposed to the undistinguishing rage of war. His trees, his *old contemporary trees*,¹ must blaze in the conflagration of the whole country: a detachment of Gothic cavalry might sweep away his cottage and his family; and the power of Alaric could destroy this happiness, which he was not able either to taste, or to bestow. "Fame," says the poet, "encircling with terror or gloomy" "wings, proclaimed the march of the barbarian" "army, and filled Italy with consternation;" the apprehensions of each individual were increased in just proportion to the measure of his fortune: and the most timid, who had already embarked their valuable effects, meditated their escape to the island of Sicily, or the African coast. The public distress was aggravated by the fears and reproaches of superstition.² Every hour produced

¹ *Legentem matrem parvaque puerula silvum*

Exarcentem rivas communis arboris umbræ.

A neighbouring wood built with himself he sees,

And joins the old maternal piny trees.

In this passage, Claudian is perhaps superior to his original; and the English poet, who was a good historian, has conceived the idea with a more general expression.

² Claudian de *Ind. Get.* 129-256. He says with justice, but that self-superstition occupied so large a space in the minds of the Romans.

some horrid tale of strange and portentous accidents: the pagans deplored the neglect of omens, and the interruption of sacrifices: but the Christians still derived some comfort from the powerful intercession of the saints and martyrs.*

Honorius
Rises from
Milan,
A. D. 403.

The emperor Honorius was distinguished, above his subjects, by the pre-eminence of fear, as well as of rank. The pride and luxury in which he was educated, had not allowed him to suspect, that there existed on the earth any power presumptuous enough to invade the repose of the successor of Augustus. The arts of flattery concealed the impending danger, till Alaric approached the palace of Milan. But when the sound of war had awakened the young emperor, instead of flying to arms with the spirit, or even the rashness, of his age, he eagerly listened to those timid counsellors, who proposed to convey his sacred person, and his faithful attendants, to some secure and distant station in the provinces of Gaul. Stilicho alone² had courage and authority to resist this disgraceful measure, which would have abandoned Rome and Italy to the barbarians; but as the troops of the palace had been lately detached to the Rhetian frontier, and as the resource of new levies was slow and

* From the paucity of Pagans, which Symeon has predicted, (Apost. Exhort. A. D. 402, N. 21), it is evident, that the general alarm had pervaded all Italy, as far as Novæ in Campania, where that apostle preached the faith for almost a century.

² Julius and Stilicho, 82: 16. His exclusive consideration, which Claudian bestows, (de Bell. Get. 387), without condemning or excepting the emperor. How insignificant must Honorius have appeared in his own court!

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XXX.

promotions, the general of the West could only promise, that, if the court of Milan would maintain their ground during his absence, he would soon return with an army equal to the encounter of the Gothic king. Without losing a moment (while each moment was so important to the public safety), Stilicho hastily embarked on the Larian lake, ascended the mountains of ice and snow, amidst the severity of an Alpine winter, and suddenly reappeared, by his unexpected presence, the enemy, who had disturbed the tranquillity of Rhætia.^a The barbarians, perhaps some tribes of the Alemanni, respected the firmness of a chief, who still assumed the language of command; and the choice which he condescended to make, of a select number of their bravest youth, was considered as a mark of his esteem and favour. The cohorts, who were delivered from the neighbouring foe, diligently repaired to the imperial standard; and Stilicho issued his orders to the most remote troops of the West, to advance, by rapid marches, to the defence of Hæmulus and of Italy. The fortresses of the Rhine were abandoned; and the safety of Gaul was protected only by the faith of the Germans, and the ancient terror of the Roman name. Even the legion, which had been stationed to guard the wall of Britain against the Caledonians of the North, was hastily recalled;^b and a numerous body

^a The race of the Goths, and the traditions of Stilicho, are fully described, *de Bell. Got.* 342-363.

^b Years of extensive wars prevented Britain from sending aid from Gaul.

of the cavalry of the Alani was persuaded to engage in the service of the emperor, who anxiously expected the return of his general. The prudence and vigour of Stilicho were conspicuous on this occasion, which revealed, at the same time, the weakness of the falling empire. The legions of Rome, which had long since languished in the gradual decay of discipline and courage, were exterminated by the Gothic and civil wars; and it was found impossible, without exhausting and exposing the provinces, to assemble an army for the defence of Italy.

When Stilicho seemed to abandon his sovereign in the unguarded palace of Milan, he had probably calculated the term of his absence, the distance of the enemy, and the obstacles that might retard their march. He principally depended on the rivers of Italy, the Adige, the Mincius, the Oglio, and the Addua; which, in the winter or spring, by the fall of rains, or by the melting of the snows, are commonly swelled into broad and impetuous torrents.* But the season happened to be remarkably dry; and the

He is pursued and besieged by the Goths.

Yet the most rapid march from Edinburgh, or Newcastle, to Milan, must have required a longer space of time than Cæsar's some writing is allowed the duration of the flight was.

* Rivers greater must receive the force of Enderbury, (see Transactions, vol. 2, p. 279), which is often increased by the copious and irregular abundance of waters. The Ambrus, which is often, must equipped in the dry bed of the Poenensis. — An example (see Markish) and presents the same a good house Alexander, who had

"pluviale Nitrate potius, per eos dies in unum tantum comparat in unum exultat gignat." (Annal. d'Hist. rom. vol. 2, 445; Mém. 1721, 6-10 1722.)

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Goths could traverse, without impediment, the wide and stony beds, whose centre was faintly marked by the course of a shallow stream. The bridge and passage of the Addua were secured by a strong detachment of the Gothic army: and as Alaric approached the walls, or rather the suburbs, of Milan, he enjoyed the proud satisfaction of seeing the emperor of the Romans fly before him. Honorius, accompanied by a feeble train of statesmen and eunuchs, hastily retreated towards the Alps, with a design of securing his person in the city of Arles, which had often been the royal residence of his predecessors. But Honorius¹ had scarcely passed the Po, before he was overtaken by the speed of the Gothic cavalry: since the urgency of the danger compelled him to seek a temporary shelter within the fortification of Asta, a town of Liguria or Piedmont, situate on the banks of the Tanarus.² The siege of an obscure place, which contained so rich a prize, and seemed incapable of a long resistance, was instantly formed, and indefatigably pressed, by the king of the Goths: and the bold declaration, which the emperor might afterwards

¹ Claudian does not clearly answer our question. Whence went Honorius himself? Yet the flight is marked by the pursuit: and my idea of the Gothic war is justified by the Italian author, Sigebert, *Ann.* i. p. 369, or *Imp. Occident.* i. c. 2, and Mascard, (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. iv. p. 43).

² Out of the roads may be traced in the *Itineraries*, (p. 28, 289, 294, with Wesseling's Notes). Asta lay some miles on the right bank.

³ Asta, or Asti, a Roman colony, is now the capital of a pleasant county, which, in the sixteenth century, devolved to the Duke of Savoy, (London Albert Desseguier's *d'Italia*, p. 394).

make, that his breast had never been susceptible of fear, did not probably obtain much credit, even in his own court.* In the last, and almost hopeless extremity, after the barbarians had already proposed the indignity of a capitulation, the imperial captive was suddenly relieved by the fame, the approach, and at length the presence of the hero, whom he had so long expected. At the head of a chosen and intrepid vanguard, Stilicho swam the stream of the Addua, to gain the time which he must have lost in the attack of the bridge; the passage of the Po was an enterprise of much less hazard and difficulty; and the successful action, in which he cut his way through the Gothic camp under the walls of Asta, revived the hopes, and vindicated the honour, of Rome. Instead of grasping the fruit of his victory, the barbarian was gradually invested, on every side, by the troops of the West, who successively issued through all the passes of the Alps; his quarters were straitened; his convoys were intercepted; and the vigilance of the Romans prepared to form a chain of fortifications, and to besiege the lines of the besiegers. A military council was assembled of the long-haired chiefs of the Gothic nation; of agal warriors, whose bodies were wrapped in furs, and whose stern countenances were marked with honourable wounds. They weighed the glory of persisting,

* *Barbaricus impellit illius.* He might hold this proud language the next year at Rome, five hundred miles from the scene of danger. *Ulp. Cass. Hist. 449.*

in the neighbourhood of Pallantium,* was thrown into confusion by the sudden and impetuous charge of the imperial cavalry; but, in a few moments, the undaunted genius of their leader gave them an order, and a field, of battle; and as soon as they had recovered from their astonishment, the pious confidence, that the God of the Christians would assert their cause, added new strength to their native valour. In this engagement, which was long maintained with equal courage and success, the chief of the Alani, whose diminutive and savage form concealed a magnanimous soul, approved his suspected loyalty, by the zeal with which he fought, and fell, in the service of the republic; and the fame of this gallant barbarian has been imperfectly preserved in the verses of Claudian, since the poet, who celebrates his virtue, has omitted the mention of his name. His death was followed by the flight and dismay of the squadrons which he commanded; and the defeat of the wing of cavalry might have decided the victory of Alaric, if Stilicho had not immediately led the Roman and barbarian infantry to the attack. The skill of the general, and the bravery of the soldiers, surmounted every obstacle. In the evening of the bloody day, the Goths* retreated from the field of battle; the intrenchments of their camp were forced, and the scene of rapine and slaughter made some atone-

* The temples of Pallantium are described by Strabo to be the work of Cato. Cato, in the same neighbourhood, was a royal thief of the kings of Lusitania, and a small river, which crossed the publicum, "penetravit ad intus." (Strabo. lib. xviij. c. 4.)

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ment for the calamities which they had inflicted on the subjects of the empire.¹ The magnificent spoils of Corinth and Argos enriched the veterans of the West: the captive wife of Alaric, who had impatiently claimed his promise of Roman jewels and patrician handmaids,² was reduced to implore the mercy of the insulting foe; and many thousand prisoners, released from the Gothic chains, dispersed through the provinces of Italy the praises of their heroic deliverer. The triumph of Stilicho³ was compared by the poet, and perhaps by the public, to that of Marins; who, in the same part of Italy, had encountered, and destroyed, another army of northern barbarians. The huge bones, and the empty helmets, of the Cimbri and of the Goths, would easily be confounded by succeeding generations; and posterity might erect a common trophy to the memory of the two most illustrious generals, who had vanquished, on the same memorable ground, the two most formidable enemies of Rome.⁴

¹ *Quibus videtur, in dubitatis verbis, se insinuare the solent of the Romans: "Pugnantis victoribus, victores videri minime." Prosper on Clotaire makes it an equal and bloody battle: but the Gothic writers, Cassiodorus (in Chron.) and Jornandes, (de Reb. Get. c. 17), claim a decisive victory.*

² *Domino Ausoniorum gentemq. moesta nostrorum,
Romanisque ali. famula carere potest.*

De Bell. Get. 617.

³ *Claudius, (de Bell. Get. 391-411), and Prudentius, (in Symmach. l. ii. 694-718), celebrate, without ambiguity, the Roman victory of Pollentia. They are poetical and party writers: yet some credit is due to the most impartial witnesses, who are shocked by the recent calamity of Rome.*

⁴ *Claudius's expression is strong and elegant; but the identity of the Cimbri and Gothic fields, must be understood like Virgil's Philippi, Georg. 1,*

CHAP.
XXX.Boldness
and retreat
of Alaric.

The eloquence of Claudian⁴ has celebrated, with lavish applause, the victory of Pollentia, one of the most glorious days in the life of his patron: but his reluctant and partial muse bestows more genuine praise on the character of the Gothic king. His name is indeed branded with the reproachful epithets of pirate and robber, to which the conquerors of every age are so justly entitled; but the poet of Stilicho is compelled to acknowledge, that Alaric possessed the invincible temper of mind, which rises superior to every misfortune, and derives new resources from adversity. After the total defeat of his infantry, he escaped, or rather withdrew, from the field of battle, with the greatest part of his cavalry entire and unbroken. Without wasting a moment to lament the irreparable loss of so many brave companions, he left his victorious enemy to bind in chains the captive images of a Gothic king:⁵ and boldly resolved to break through the unguarded passes of the Apennine, to spread desolation over the fruitful face of Tuscany, and to conquer or die before the gates of Rome. The capital was saved by the

Geogr. l. 1807 according to the loose geography of a poet. Varenna and Pollentia are 12½ miles from each other; and the latitude is still greater, if the Fluskey were deduced to the wide and horrid gulf of Vesuvius. *Musil, Vetus Hist. Ital. P. 4. p. 22-23.*

⁴ Claudian and Prudentius must be strictly examined, to reduce the figures, and collect the history, which, in those poets.

⁵ *El gremio en donde se forja el vicio.*

He now state conquests and capture his images.

The pleasure of acquiring by triumph the images of kings and provinces was familiar to the Romans. The bust of Mithridates himself was 12 feet high, of massy gold, (*Plutarch. Supplement Livian. ciii. 478.*)

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active and incessant diligence of Stilicho: but he respected the despair of his enemy; and, instead of committing the fate of the republic to the chance of another battle, he proposed to purchase the absence of the barbarians. The spirit of Alaric would have rejected such terms, the permission of a retreat, and the offer of a pension, with contempt and indignation; but he exercised a limited and precarious authority over the independent chieftains, who had raised him, *for their service*, above the rank of his equals: they were still less disposed to follow an unsuccessful general, and many of them were tempted to consult their interest by a private negotiation with the minister of Honorius. The king submitted to the voice of his people, ratified the treaty with the empire of the West, and repassed the Po, with the remains of the flourishing army which he had led into Italy. A considerable part of the Roman forces still continued to attend his motions; and Stilicho, who maintained a secret correspondence with some of the barbarian chiefs, was punctually apprised of the designs that were formed in the camp and council of Alaric. The king of the Goths, ambitious to signalize his retreat by some splendid achievement, had resolved to occupy the important city of Verona, which commands the principal passage of the Rhaetian Alps; and, directing his march through the territories of those German tribes, whose alliance would restore his exhausted strength, to invade, on the side of the Rhine, the wealthy and

unsuspecting provinces of Gaul. Ignorant of the treason, which had already betrayed his hold and judicious enterprise, he advanced towards the passes of the mountains, already possessed by the imperial troops: where he was exposed, almost at the same instant, to a general attack in the front, on his flanks, and in the rear. In this bloody action, at a small distance from the walls of Veroun, the loss of the Goths was not less heavy than that which they had sustained in the defeat of Pollentia; and their valiant king, who escaped by the swiftness of his horse, must either have been slain or made prisoner; if the hasty councils of the stand had not disappointed the measures of the Roman general. Alaric secured the remains of his army on the adjacent rocks; and prepared himself, with undaunted resolution, to maintain a siege against the superior numbers of the enemy, who invested him on all sides. But he could not oppose the destructive progress of hunger and disease; nor was it possible for him to check the continual desertion of his impatient and capacious barbarians. In this extremity, he still found resources in his own courage, or in the moderation of his adversary: and the retreat of the Gothic king was considered as the deliverance of Italy.* Yet the people, and even the clergy, incapable of forming any rational judgment of the business of peace and war, presumed to arraign the policy of Stilicho, who so often vanquished, so often surrounded, and so often

* The Gothic war and the sixth consulship of Honorius expressly present the events of Alaric's retreat and flight.

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XXX.

The tri-
umph of
Honorius,
in Rome,
A. D. 401.

dismissed the implacable enemy of the republic. The first moment of the public safety is devoted to gratitude and joy; but the second is diligently occupied by envy and calumny.*

The citizens of Rome had been astonished by the approach of Alaric; and the diligence with which they laboured to restore the walls of the capital, confessed their own fears, and the decline of the empire. After the retreat of the barbarians, Honorius was directed to accept the dutiful invitation of the senate, and to celebrate, in the imperial city, the auspicious era of the Gothic victory, and of his sixth consulship.² The suburbs and the streets, from the Milvian bridge to the Palatine mount, were filled by the Roman people, who, in the space of an hundred years, had only thrice been honoured with the presence of their sovereigns. While their eyes were fixed on the chariot where Stilicho was deservedly seated by the side of his royal pupil, they applauded the pomp of a triumph, which was not stained, like that of Constantine, or of Theodosius, with civil blood. The procession passed under a lofty arch, which had been purposely erected: but in less than seven years, the Gothic conquerors of Rome might read, if they were able to read, the superb inscription of that monument, which attested the total defeat and

* *Trois de Alaric* &c. &c. *sepe victa, sepe ten-tata, sumptuosa* *Alaricus, Orosius*, l. vii. c. 32, p. 362. Claudian *in Cons. Hon.* lifts drops the curtain with a fine image.

² The remainder of Claudian's poem on the sixth consulship of Honorius, describes the journey, the triumph, and the games, *CLAUDIAN*.

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—————

destruction of their nation? The emperor resided several months in the capital, and every part of his behaviour was regulated with care to conciliate the affection of the clergy, the senate, and the people of Rome. The clergy was edified by his frequent visits, and liberal gifts, to the shrines of the apostles. The senate, who, in the triumphal procession, had been excused from the humiliating ceremony of preceding on foot the imperial chariot, was treated with the devout reverence which Stilicho always affected for that assembly. The people was repeatedly gratified by the attention and courtesy of Honorius in the public games, which were celebrated on that occasion with a magnificence not unworthy of the spectator. As soon as the appointed number of chariot-races was concluded, the decoration of the circus was suddenly changed; the hunting of wild beasts afforded a various and splendid entertainment; and the chase was succeeded by a military dance, which seems, in the lively description of Claudian, to present the image of a modern tournament.

In these games of Honorius, the inhuman combats of gladiators¹ polluted, for the last time, the amphitheatre of Rome. The first Christian emperor may claim the honour of the first edict, which condemned the art and amusement of blood-

The gladiators
died.

¹ See the description in Mosheim's History of the Arian Controversy, vol. II. The words are *gladiatores* and *bellatores*, sometimes *bellatores* in some recent editions, &c.

² On the subject, though horrid, of the gladiators, consult the two books of the Saturnalia of Macrobius, lib. ii. et antiquorum, in which he traces the practice of sanguinary combats to the times of Romulus, &c. (lib. ii. p. 483-44).

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ding human blood;¹ but this benevolent law expressed the wishes of the prince, without reforming an inveterate abuse, which degraded a civilized nation below the condition of savage cannibals. Several hundred, perhaps several thousand, victims were annually slaughtered in the great cities of the empire; and the month of December, more peculiarly devoted to the combats of gladiators, still exhibited, to the eyes of the Roman people, a grateful spectacle of blood and cruelty. Amidst the general joy of the victory of Pollentia, a Christian poet exhorted the emperor to extirpate, by his authority, the horrid custom which had so long raised the voice of humanity and religion.² The pathetic representations of Prudentius were less effectual than the generous labours of Telemachus, an Asiatic monk, whose death was more useful to mankind than his life.³ The Romans were provoked by the interruption of their pleasures; and the rash monk, who had descended into the arena, to separate the gladiators, was overwhelmed under a shower of stones. But the madness of the people soon subsided; they respected the memory of Tele-

¹ *Act. Theodori*, l. vii. tit. lxx. §. 1. The Commentary of Chod. has afforded some materials there, p. 286; but the history of the gladiators.

² See the persecution of Prudentius, *de Symmacho*, l. i. 1111-1116, who has diffusions and the slightest notices of Tertullian, Minutius, Justin, &c. &c. The Christian epistles have not spread these bloody games, which were annihilated by the religious freedom of empire.

³ *Theodoret*, l. vi. c. 22. I wish to believe the story of St. Telemachus. Yet we should not have admitted, as little has been proved, to the very monk the just severity in the name of humanity.

machus, who had deserved the honours of martyrdom; and they submitted, without a murmur, to the laws of Honorius, which abolished for ever the human sacrifices of the amphitheatre. The citizens, who adhered to the manners of their ancestors, might perhaps insinuate, that the last remains of a martial spirit were preserved in this school of fortitude, which accustomed the Romans to the sight of blood, and to the contempt of death: a vain and cruel prejudice, amply confuted by the valour of ancient Greece, and of modern Europe.*

CITIZEN.
XXX.

The recent danger, to which the person of the emperor had been exposed in the defenceless palace of Milan, urged him to seek a retreat in some inaccessible fortress of Italy, where he might securely remain, while the open country was covered by a deluge of barbarians. On the coast of the Adriatic, about ten or twelve miles from the most southern of the seven mouths of the Po, the Thessalians had founded the ancient colony of RAVENNA,† which they afterwards resigned to the natives of Umbria. Augustus, who had

Honorius
leaves his re-
sidence at
Ravenna,
A. D. 401.

* *Ubiq. gladiatorum spectacula et inhumanorum uenerunt* (A. D. 382); et *sedes ipsa se sit, ut nunc sit*. 'Cicero' Tacitus, 4, 17. He hardly measures the abbey, and merely defines the way, of those who's skulls make, point out before, entire (abandoned as rustic) description. 'Sunt (quod) in) dicitur the things of a man.

† This mention of Ravenna is drawn from Strabo, II. 4, p. 201; Pliny, III. 104; Stephan of Byzantium, two years before, p. 422, p. 423, 424; Claudius, de, et Clem. Roman, 144, 424; Suetonius, Augustus, II. 104; A. D. 104; the B. G. G. 1, 201; Theophrastus, de Bell. Græc. I, p. 201, 202, 203, and Claudius, de Bell. Græc. I, p. 201, 202. Yet I still want a local and, I think, a good topographical map.

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observed the opportunity of the place, prepared, at the distance of three miles from the old town, a capacious harbour, for the reception of two hundred and fifty ships of war. This naval establishment, which included the arsenals and magazines, the barracks of the troops, and the houses of the artificers, derived its origin and name from the permanent station of the Roman fleet: the intermediate space was soon filled with buildings and inhabitants, and the three extensive and populous quarters of Ravenna gradually contributed to form one of the most important cities of Italy. The principal canal of Augustus poured a copious stream of the waters of the Po through the midst of the city, to the entrance of the harbour: the same waters were introduced into the profound ditches that encompassed the walls; they were distributed, by a thousand subordinate canals, into every part of the city, which they divided into a variety of small islands: the communication was maintained only by the use of boats and bridges; and the houses of Ravenna, whose appearance may be compared to that of Venice, were raised on the foundation of wooden piles. The adjacent country, to the distance of many miles, was a deep and impassible morass; and the artificial causeway, which connected Ravenna with the continent, might be easily guarded, or destroyed, on the approach of an hostile army. These morasses were interspersed, however, with vineyards; and though the soil was exhausted by four or five crops, the town enjoyed

A more plentiful supply of wine than of fresh water.² The air, instead of receiving the sickly, and almost pestilential, exhalations of low and marshy grounds, was distinguished, like the neighbourhood of Alexandria, as uncommonly pure and salubrious; and this singular advantage was ascribed to the regular tides of the Adriatic, which swept the canals, interrupted the unwholesome stagnation of the waters, and floated, every day, the vessels of the adjacent country into the heart of Ravenna. The gradual retreat of the sea has left the modern city at the distance of four miles from the Adriatic; and as early as the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era, the port of Augustus was converted into pleasant orchards; and a lovely grove of pines covered the ground where the Roman fleet once rode at anchor.³ Even this alteration contributed to increase the natural strength of the place; and the shallowness of the water was a sufficient barrier against the large ships of the enemy. This advantageous situation was fortified by art and labour; and in the twentieth year of his age, the emperor of the

² Martini, *Memoriae* lib. 26. c. 67. says, on the brink of the Lagoon, who had sold him, after several attempts, but he seriously declares, that a system of Ravenna is more valuable than a stagnant. Edmonde complains, that the town is destitute of fountains and aqueducts; and adds the want of fresh water among the local evils, such as the spreading of fogs, the singing of quacks, &c.

³ The lake of Trasimene and Bracciano, which Dryden has sometimes only transplanted from Bithynia, (Marsala, lib. 10. *luculi* 241) was said to be the seed of Cloaca, a corrupt word from *Cloaca*, the total stink, which, with the intermediate mud or silt, the *Fus Cloacalis*, constituted the *tepus* *pus* of Tacitus.

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West, anxious only for his personal safety, retired to the perpetual confinement of the walls and morasses of Ravenna. The example of Honorius was imitated by his feeble successors, the Gothic kings, and afterwards the exarchs, who occupied the throne and palace of the emperors; and, till the middle of the eighth century, Ravenna was considered as the seat of government, and the capital of Italy.*

The revolutions of
Sythia,
A. D. 400.

The fears of Honorius were not without foundation, nor were his precautions without effect. While Italy rejoiced in her deliverance from the Goths, a furious tempest was excited among the nations of Germany, who yielded to the irresistible impulse, that appears to have been gradually communicated from the eastern extremity of the continent of Asia. The Chinese annals, as they have been interpreted by the learned industry of the present age, may be usefully applied to reveal the secret and remote causes of the fall of the Roman empire. The extensive territory to the north of the great wall, was possessed, after the flight of the Huns, by the victorious Sienpi; who were sometimes broken into independent tribes, and sometimes reunited under a supreme chief: till at length styling themselves *Topa*, or masters of the earth, they acquired a more solid consistence; and a more formidable power. The *Topa* soon compelled the pastoral nations of the eastern desert to acknowledge the superiority of

* From the year 401, the dates of the Theodosian Code become contemporary at Constantinople and Ravenna: see Godding's *Chronology of the East*, time, b, p. 146, &c.

their arms: they invaded China in a period of weakness and intestine discord: and these fortunate Tartars, adopting the laws and manners of the vanquished people, founded an imperial dynasty, which reigned near one hundred and sixty years over the northern provinces of the monarchy. Some generations before they ascended the throne of China, one of the Topa princes had enlisted in his cavalry a slave of the name of Moko, renowned for his valour: but who was tempted, by the fear of punishment, to desert his standard; and to range the desert at the head of an hundred followers. This gang of robbers and outlaws swelled into a camp, a tribe, a numerous people, distinguished by the appellation of *Geouges*: and their hereditary chieftains, the posterity of Moko the slave, assumed their rank among the Scythian monarchs. The youth of Toulun, the greatest of his descendants, was exercised by those misfortunes which are the school of heroes. He bravely struggled with adversity, broke the imperious yoke of the Topa, and became the legislator of his nation, and the conqueror of Tartary. His troops were distributed into regular bands of an hundred and of a thousand men; cowards were stoned to death; the most splendid honours were proposed as the reward of valour; and Toulun, who had knowledge enough to despise the learning of China, adopted only such arts and institutions as were favourable to the military spirit of his government. His tents, which he removed in the winter season to a more southern latitude, were pitched, during

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the summer, on the fruitful banks of the Selinge. His conquests stretched from Corea far beyond the river Jetish. He vanquished, in the country to the north of the Caspian sea, the nation of the *Huns*; and the new title of *Khan*, or *Cagan*, expressed the fame and power which he derived from this memorable victory.*

Emigre-
ment of the
northern
Germans.
A. D. 400.

The chain of events is interrupted, or rather is concealed, as it passes from the Volga to the Vistula, through the dark interval which separates the extreme limits of the Chinese; and of the Roman geography. Yet the temper of the barbarians, and the experience of successive emigrations, sufficiently declare, that the Huns, who were oppressed by the arms of the Googon, soon withdrew from the presence of an insulting victor. The countries towards the Euxine were already occupied by their kindred tribes; and their hasty flight, which they soon converted into a bold attack, would more naturally be directed towards the rich and level plains, through which the Vistula gently flows into the Baltic sea. The North must again have been alarmed, and agitated, by the incursion of the Huns; and the nations who retreated before them, must have pressed with incumbent weight on the confines of Germany.† The inhabitants of those regions,

* See *Mo-tse Heng-wei Hsin*, also *Hsin*, tom. 4, p. 179. *Hsin* tom. 2, p. 284, 285, 286.

† Ptolemy (see *Hell. Geogr.* lib. 1, c. 11, p. 182) has observed an emigration from the Baltic Ocean to the north of Germany, which he ascribes to the Huns. But the traces of ancient history are strongly betrayed by ignorance and error.

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which the ancients have assigned to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians, might embrace the resolution of abandoning to the fugitives of Sarmatia, their woods and morasses; or at least of discharging their superfluous numbers on the provinces of the Roman empire.* About four years after the victorious Toulun had assumed the title of Khan of the Gesugen, another barbarian, the haughty Rhodogast, or Radagaisus,† marched from the northern extremities of Germany almost to the gates of Rome, and left the remains of his army to achieve the destruction of the West. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians, formed the strength of this mighty host; but the Alani, who had found an hospitable reception in their new seats, added their active cavalry to the heavy infantry of the Germans; and the Gothic adventurers crowded so eagerly to the standard of Radagaisus, that, by some historians, he has been styled the King of the Goths. Twelve thousand warriors, distinguished above the vulgar by their noble birth, or their valiant deeds, glittered in the van; and the whole multitude, which was not less than

* Zosimus, l. i. p. 234, gives the general description of the nations beyond the Danube and the Rhine. Their names, and consequently their names, are uniformly obscure, even in the earliest notices which our ancient writers have been able to collect.

† The name of Rhodogast was that of a kind deity, or the God of the Mid-Georgians. A hero might naturally assume the appellation of his tutelary god; but it is not probable that the barbarians should employ so unsuccessful terms. See Maccus, Hist. of the Germans, lib. 14.

‡ Olympiodorus upon Pausanias, p. 126, says the Goths went to Persia; which does not convey any precise idea. I suspect that they

with

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two hundred thousand fighting men, might be increased by the accession of women, of children, and of slaves, to the amount of four hundred thousand persons. This formidable emigration issued from the same coast of the Baltic, which had poured forth the myriads of the Cimbri and Teutones, to assault Rome and Italy in the vigour of the republic. After the departure of those barbarians, their native country, which was marked by the vestiges of their greatness, long ramparts, and gigantic moles,* remained, during some ages, a vast and dreary solitude; till the human species was renewed by the powers of generation, and the vacancy was filled by the influx of new inhabitants. The nations who now usurp an extent of land, which they are unable to cultivate, would soon be assisted by the industrious poverty of their neighbours, if the government of Europe did not protect the claims of dominion and property.

Radegundis
revivies
Italy,
Æ. IX. 406.

The correspondence of nations was, in that age, so imperfect and precarious, that the revolutions of the north might escape the knowledge of the court of Ravenna; till the dark cloud, which was collected along the coast of the Baltic, burst in thunder upon the banks of the Upper Danube. The emperor of the West, if his ministers disturbed his amusements by the news of

* *See the joiners and soliers, with their faithful companions, the weavers, with their squares, as they would have been styled some centuries afterwards.*

* *Trist. de Merito Germanorum, c. 57.*

the impending danger, was satisfied with being the occasion, and the spectator of the war.* The safety of Rome was intrusted to the counsels, and the sword, of Stilicho; but such was the feeble and exhausted state of the empire, that it was impossible to restore the fortifications of the Danube, or to prevent, by a vigorous effort, the invasion of the Germans.† The hopes of the vigilant minister of Honorius were confined to the defence of Italy. He once more abandoned the provinces, recalled the troops, pressed the new levies, which were rigorously exacted, and pusillanimously eluded; employed the most efficacious means to arrest, or allure, the deserters; and offered the gift of freedom, and of two pieces of gold, to all the slaves who would enlist.‡ By these efforts, he painfully collected, from the subjects of a great empire, an army of thirty or forty thousand men, which, in the days of Scipio or Camillus, would have been instantly furnished by

* *Cæsar agnovit*
Spei totius Viti causa fuit.

Clarendon, *at Cæsar* Hist. 429.

is the modest language of Hieronymus, in speaking of the Gothic war, which he had seen somewhat nearer.

† Zosimus (l. v. p. 323) attributes the loss, and the victory, of vicenna, beyond the Danube. A strange story, which is awkwardly and improperly cured, by reading *Agas* for *Agas*. (Hilsmann, *Hist. des Emp. rom.* v. p. 807.) In good justice, we must use the version of Zosimus, without reasoning or venturing here.

‡ Codex Theodos. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 10. The date of this law (A. D. 406, Mar. 16) satisfies me, as it had those Goths, (see p. 287), of the true year of the invasion of Hildigastus. Symeon, Papi, and Marcellus, praise the preceding year; but they are bound by certain obligations of civility and respect, to St. Faustin of Nîmes.



CHAP. the free citizens of the territory of Rome.* The
 XXX the thirty legions of Stilicho were reinforced by a
 large body of barbarian auxiliaries: the faithful
 Alani were personally attached to his service; and the troops of Huns and of Goths who marched
 under the banners of their native princes, Hildin and Sarus, were animated by interest and
 resentment to oppose the ambition of Radagaisus. The king of the confederate Germans passed,
 without resistance, the Alps, the Po, and the
 Apennines; leaving on one hand the inaccessible
 palace of Honorius, securely buried among the
 marshes of Ravenna; and, on the other, the
 camp of Stilicho, who had fixed his headquarters
 at Ticinum, or Pavia, but who seems to have
 avoided a decisive battle, till he had assembled
 his distant forces. Many cities of Italy were
 pillaged, or destroyed; and the siege of Flo-
 rence,† by Radagaisus, is one of the earliest
 events in the history of that celebrated republic;
 whose firmness checked and delayed the unskilful
 fury of the barbarians. The senate and people
 trembled at their approach within an humbled and

Radagaisus
 besieges
 Florence.

* Soon after Rome had been taken by the Goths, the senate, on a sudden emergency, armed ten legions, 2,000 bowmen, and 22,000 foot; a force which the city could not have sent forth under Augustus (Livy, vii, 25). This declaration may possibly be a saturny, but it is clearly explained by Mommsen.

† Martenot has explained, at least as a philologist, the weight of Florence, which inevitably descended, like the burden of tears, from Geryon of Persia to the lap of the Arno, (Hutchinson, *Annals*, tom. ii, 336, p. 36, London, 1747). The Ticinum was a victory at Florence, which, under Theodoric, (Theod. *Annals*, i, 29), deserved the reputation and name of a glorious city. See Cluver, *Itin. Antiq.*, tom. i, p. 367, &c.

eighty miles of Rome; and anxiously compared CHAP.
 the danger which they had escaped, with the XXII.
 new perils to which they were exposed. Alaric
 was a Christian and a soldier, the leader of a dis-
 ciplined army; who understood the laws of war;
 who respected the sanctity of treaties, and who
 had familiarly conversed with the subjects of the
 empire in the same camps, and the same churches.
 The savage Radagaisus was a stranger to the man-
 ners, the religion, and even the language, of the
 civilized nations of the South. The fierceness of
 his temper was exasperated by cruel superstition;
 and it was universally believed, that he had bound
 himself, by a solemn vow, to reduce the city into and threat-
 a heap of stones and ashes, and to sacrifice the ens blood.
 most illustrious of the Roman senators, on the
 altars of those gods, who were appeased by hu-
 man blood. The public danger, which should
 have reconciled all domestic animosities, dis-
 played the insatiable madness of religious faction.
 The oppressed votaries of Jupiter and Mercury
 respected, in the implacable enemy of Rome, the
 character of a devout pagan; loudly declared,
 that they were more apprehensive of the sacri-
 fices, than of the arms, of Radagaisus; and se-
 cretly rejoiced in the calamities of their country,
 which condemned the faith of their Christian
 adversaries.¹

¹ Yet the dispute of Pagans, was not the same. Their and Wa-
 dex, was very different from the Origen or Augustine form. The
 sects following temples of polytheism sought more from various and
 private sources, but the general Roman religion, the law, or tradition
 of Gods and Goddesses.

CHAP. Florence was reduced to the last extremity ;
 and the fainting courage of the citizens was supported only by the authority of St. Ambrose : who had communicated, in a dream, the promise of a speedy deliverance.² On a sudden, they beheld, from their walls, the banners of Stilicho, who advanced, with his united force, to the relief of the faithful city ; and who soon marked that fatal spot for the grave of the barbarian host. The apparent contradictions of those writers who variously relate the defeat of Radagaisus, may be reconciled, without offering much violence to their respective testimonies. Orosius and Augustin, who were intimately connected by friendship and religion, ascribe this miraculous victory to the providence of God, rather than to the valour of man.³ They strictly exclude every idea of chance, or even of bloodshed ; and positively affirm, that the Romans, whose camp was the scene of plenty and idleness, enjoyed the distress of the barbarians, slowly expiring on the sharp and barren ridge of the hills of Fiesole, which rise above the city of Florence. Their extravagant assertion, that not a single soldier of the Christian army was killed, or even wounded, may

² Paulinus (in *Nat. Ambrosii*, l. 10) relates this story, "which he received from the mouth of Faustus borellus, a religious pastor of Florence." Yet this archbishop may seem to take no other part in the business of the world, and must become a popular saint.

³ *Augustinus de Civitate Dei*, c. 23. *Orosius* p. vii, p. 28, p. 287. The two islands sent to Africa, you see, never found the victory, and their embassy is implicitly followed by Julian of Cæsarea (in *Clarus* p. 713, with *Gloss.*). How many interesting facts might Orosius have inserted in the vacant space which is devoted to such a subject ?

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be dismissed with silent contempt; but the rest of the narrative of Augustin and Orosius is consistent with the state of the war, and the character of Stilicho. Conscious that he commanded the *last* army of the republic, his prudence would not expose it, in the open field, to the headstrong fury of the Germans. The method of surrounding the enemy with strong lines of circumvallation, which he had twice employed against the Gothic king, was repeated on a larger scale, and with more considerable effect. The examples of Caesar must have been familiar to the most illiterate of the Roman warriors; and the fortifications of Dyr-rachium, which connected twenty-four castles, by a perpetual ditch and rampart of fifteen miles, afforded the model of an intrenchment which might confine, and starve, the most numerous host of barbarians.¹ The Roman troops had less degenerated from the industry, than from the valour, of their ancestors; and if the servile and laborious work offended the pride of the soldiers, Tuscany could supply many thousand peasants, who would labour, though, perhaps, they would not fight, for the salvation of their native country. The imprisoned multitude of horses and

¹ *Per singulis castris, pluribusque per totidem Castra*

Ducit equos, paucis foveas, turribus circum-

Disposita circumdant jugis, unguemque circum-

Amplexus fossa, saltis non circumspicit, equos

Et alios, vallibus foveas singulas circum-

Yet the simplicity of Lucan (Caesar, de Bell. Civ. lib. 44) is far greater than the simplification of Lucan. (Pausan. l. vi. 73-75.)

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men^a was gradually destroyed by famine, rather than by the sword; but the Romans were exposed, during the progress of such an extensive work, to the frequent attacks of an impatient enemy. The despair of the hungry barbarians would precipitate them against the fortifications of Stilicho; the general might sometimes indulge the ardour of his brave auxiliaries, who eagerly pressed to assault the camp of the Germans; and these various incidents might produce the sharp and bloody conflicts which dignify the narrative of Zosimus, and the *Chronicles* of Prosper and Marcellinus.^b A seasonable supply of men and provisions had been introduced into the walls of Florence; and the furnished host of Radagaisus was in its turn besieged. The proud monarch of so many warlike nations, after the loss of his bravest warriors, was reduced to confide either in the faith of a capitulation, or in the clemency of Stilicho.^c But the death of the royal captive, who was ignominiously beheaded, disgraced the triumph of Rome and of Christianity; and the short delay of his execution was sufficient to brand the conqueror with the guilt of cool and

^a The classical expression of *fremitu*, "In ardent impetu fremitu," p. 109. "In ardent impetu fremitu" are not very suitable to the circumstances of a great army. But Favianus, only three miles from Florence, might afford space for the headquarters of Radagaisus, and would be comprehended within the circuit of the Roman town. See *Strabo*, l. 4, p. 255, and the *Chronicon* of Prosper and Marcellinus.

^b *Historiarum* rapid Favianus, p. 109, sets no restraint, (expressed as it is,) which would demand more and beyond attention, and reader believe and every circumstance. The excellent definition, which is given, of *Stilicho*, is sufficiently obvious.

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deliberate cruelty.^a The famished Germans, who escaped the fury of the auxiliaries, were sold as slaves, at the contemptible price of as many single pieces of gold: but the difference of food and climate swept away great numbers of those unhappy strangers: and it was observed that the inhuman purchasers, instead of reaping the fruits of their labour, were soon obliged to provide the expence of their maintenance. Stilicho informed the emperor and the senate of his success: and deserved, a second time, the glorious title of Deliverer of Italy.^b

The fame of the victory, and more especially of the miracle, has encouraged a vain persuasion that the whole army, or rather nation, of Germans, who migrated from the shores of the Baltic, miserably perished under the walls of Florence. Such indeed was the fate of Radagaisus himself, of his brave and faithful companions, and of more than one-third of the various multitude of Sueves and Vandals, of Alani and Burgundians, who adhered to the standard of their general.^c The union of such an army might excite our ant-

The remainder of the story, made by the Grail, A. D. 406, Dec. 31.

^a *Immane pauperum numerum, stragemque hominum et pecunie, Atque cum simulacris, ut supra a symptomata exprobravit.* The bloody scene is not determinable than the real historical Radagaisus.

^b And Claudius's name, was the story? had the term III. gold? Mathias the seventh, successor of Alaric (A. D. 407) would have furnished the subject of a new poem. Before it was dissolved that the state could no longer be saved, Stilicho before Honorius, Constantine and Marcellus might have been actually consumed the fourth founder of Rome.

^c A famous passage of Pausanias's *Chastity*, "In very person, per, disease, peripeteia, disease, misfortune," testifies the miracle of Florence, and considers the history of Italy, Spain, and Germany.

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prise, but the causes of separation are obvious and forcible: the pride of birth, the insolence of valour, the jealousy of command, the impatience of subordination, and the obstinate conflict of opinions, of interests, and of passions, among so many kings and warriors, who were untaught to yield, or to obey. After the defeat of Radagaisus, two parts of the German host, which must have exceeded the number of one hundred thousand men, still remained in arms, between the Apennine and the Alps, or between the Alps and the Danube. It is uncertain whether they attempted to revenge the death of their general: but their irregular fury was soon diverted by the prudence and firmness of Stilicho, who opposed their march, and facilitated their retreat: who considered the safety of Rome and Italy as the great object of his care: and who sacrificed, with too much indifference, the wealth and tranquillity of the distant provinces.* The barbarians acquired, from the junction of some Pannonian deserters, the knowledge of the country, and of the roads: and the invasion of Gaul, which Alaric had designed, was executed by the remains of the great army of Radagaisus.†

* Orosius and Jordan positively charge this with Augustinus the historian. "Exercent a barbarum genus," &c. They must mean indirectly. He saved Italy at the expense of Gaul.

† The count de Buat is satisfied, that the Germans who invaded Gaul were the remnants that yet remained of the army of Radagaisus. See the *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. iii. p. 87, & 133; Paris, 1771: an excellent work, which I had not the advantage of perusing till the year 1775. Anquetot 1771, I find the same

Yet if they expected to derive any assistance from the tribes of Germany, who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, their hopes were disappointed. The Alemanni preserved a state of inactive neutrality; and the Franks distinguished their zeal and courage in the defence of the empire. In the rapid progress down the Rhine, which was the first act of the administration of Stilicho, he had applied himself, with peculiar attention, to secure the alliance of the warlike Franks, and to remove the irreconcilable enemies of peace and of the republic. Marcomir, one of their kings, was publicly convicted, before the tribunal of the Roman magistrate, of violating the faith of treaties. He was sentenced to a mild, but distant, exile, in the province of Tuscany; and this degradation of the regal dignity was so far from exciting the resentment of his subjects, that they punished with death the turbulent Sunno, who attempted to revenge his brother; and maintained a dutiful allegiance to the princes, who were established on the throne by the choice of Stilicho.*

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This episode is a rough sketch of the present history. There does not exist a more intimate in Masson, (vol. 12). Such agreements, without mutual communication, may add some weight to our historical sentiment.

— Proverbia
Expositio etiam super quibus Franci reges
Quo dicitur

Classical in form, vol. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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Gaul and Germany were shaken by the northern emigration, the Franks bravely encountered the single force of the Vandals; who, regardless of the lessons of adversity, had again separated their troops from the standard of their barbarian allies. They paid the penalty of their rashness; and twenty thousand Vandals, with their king Godigisclus, were slain in the field of battle. The whole people must have been extirpated, if the squadrons of the Alani, advancing to their relief, had not trampled down the infantry of the Franks; who, after an honourable resistance, were compelled to relinquish the unequal contest. The victorious confederates pursued their march, and, on the last day of the year, in a season when the waters of the Rhine were most probably frozen, they entered, without opposition, the defenceless provinces of Gaul. This memorable passage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers which had so long separated the savage and the civilized nations of the earth, were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground.¹

Disruption
of Gaul,
A. D. 407.
&c.

While the peace of Germany was secured by the attachment of the Franks, and the neutrality of the Alemanni, the subjects of Rome, uncon-

¹ See *Strabo*, G. vii. p. 376; *Orosius*, G. vii. p. 46; p. 47; and the *Chronicon*. Gregory of Tours G. ii. c. 16, p. 163, in the second volume of the *Historiae* of France, has preserved a valuable fragment of *Res gestae* *Franciae* *Franciae*, which three authors describe 443-444, a Roman subject; and a semi-barbarian.

scious of their approaching calamities, enjoyed the state of quiet and prosperity, which had seldom blessed the frontiers of Gaul. Their flocks and herds were permitted to graze in the pastures of the barbarians; their hunters penetrated, without fear or danger, into the darkest recesses of the Hercynian wood.* The banks of the Rhine were crowned, like those of the Tiber, with elegant houses, and well cultivated farms; and if a poet descended the river, he might express his doubt, on which side was situated the territory of the Romans.[†] This scene of peace and plenty was suddenly changed into a desert: and the prospect of the smoking ruins could alone distinguish the solitude of nature from the desolation of man. The flourishing city of Mentz was surprised and destroyed; and many thousand Christians were inhumanly massacred in the church. Worms perished after a long and obstinate siege; Strasburgh, Spire, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced the cruel oppression of the German yoke; and the consuming flames of war spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich

* Claudius Ptolemy, lib. 2. c. 11. Arrian, lib. 10, describes the peace and prosperity of the Gallic provinces. The great German Historian, Meibomius, lib. 1. p. 174, would read *libi*, for *libi*, as a mistake of the Author, instead of *libi*, and explains the danger of the Gallic nation arising from the Rhine. Ptolemy, in his geography, the Rhine, and the Hercynian, signify any river, or any wood in Germany. Claudius is not prepared for the most accurate use of our antiquaries.

[†] Germanicus river.

† This would have been all Roman Empire.

CHAP. XXX. and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barbarians, who drove before them, in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars.* The ecclesiastics, to whom we are indebted for this vague description of the public calamities, embraced the opportunity of exhorting the Christians to repent of the sins which had provoked the Divine Justice, and to renounce the perishable goods of a wretched and deceitful world. But as the Pelagian controversy,† which attempts to sound the abyss of grace and predestination, soon became the serious employment of the Latin clergy: the Providence which had decreed, or foreseen, or permitted, such a train of moral and natural evils, was rashly weighed in the imperfect and fallacious balance of reason. The crimes, and the misfortunes, of the suffering people, were presumptuously compared with those of their ancestors; and they arraigned the Divine Justice, which did not exempt from the common destruction the feeble, the guiltless, the infant portion of the human species. These idle

* Jerom. *l. viii. c. 23.* See in the 1st vol. of the *Histories of France*, p. 771, 783, the paper extracted from the *Carton de Perle-daniel* (David, and Salomon). The anonymous poet was himself a refugee, with his bishop and fellow-clerics.

† The Pelagian doctrine, which was first espoused A. D. 402, was condemned, in the space of ten years, at Rome and Carthage. St. Augustine fought and conquered; but the Greek church was formidable to his adversaries; and what is singular enough the people did not take any part in a dispute which they could not understand.

disputants overlooked the invariable laws of nature, which have connected peace with innocence, plenty with industry, and safety with valour. The timid and selfish policy of the court of Ravenna might recal the Palatine legions for the protection of Italy; the remains of the stationary troops might be unequal to the arduous task; and the barbarian auxiliaries might prefer the unbounded licence of spoil, to the benefits of a moderate and regular stipend. But the provinces of Gaul were filled with a numerous race of hardy and robust youth, who, in the defence of their houses, their families, and their altars, if they had dared to die, would have deserved to vanquish. The knowledge of their native country would have enabled them to oppose continual and insuperable obstacles to the progress of an invader; and the deficiency of the barbarians, in arms as well as in discipline, removed the only pretence which excuses the submission of a populous country to the inferior numbers of a veteran army. When France was invaded by Charles V, he inquired of a prisoner, How many *days* Paris might be distant from the frontier? "Perhaps *twelve*, but they will be days of battle." Such was the gallant answer which checked the arrogance of that ambitious prince. The subjects of Honorius, and those of Francis I, were animated by a very different spirit; and in less than two years, the divided

* See the *Memoires de Guillaume de Bayly*, l. vi. In French, the original *sept* is less obvious, and more pointed, from the double sense of the word *journee*, which also signifies, a day's travel, or a battle.

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XXX.

Results of
the British
army,
A. D. 407.

troops of the savages of the Baltic, whose numbers, were they fairly stated, would appear contemptible, advanced, without a combat, to the foot of the Pyrenean mountains.

In the early part of the reign of Honorius, the vigilance of Stilicho had successfully guarded the remote island of Britain from her incessant enemies of the ocean, the mountains, and the Irish coast.¹ But those restless barbarians could not neglect the fair opportunity of the Gothic war, when the walls and stations of the province were stripped of the Roman troops. If any of the legionaries were permitted to return from the Italian expedition, their faithful report of the court and character of Honorius must have tended to dissolve the bonds of allegiance, and to exasperate the seditious temper of the British army. The spirit of revolt, which had formerly disturbed the age of Gallienus, was revived by the rapacious violence of the soldiers; and the unfortunate, perhaps the ambitious, candidates, who were the objects of their choice, were the instruments, and at length the victims, of their passion.² Marcus

¹ *Geograph. & Cosm. Ant.* l. ii. c. 310. It is supposed, that the town of Ireland (Dublin), by sea, the whole western coast of Britain, and some eight or ten miles to the north of Scotland (the Irish tradition, *Mac's Hill*, or *Magin*, vol. ii. p. 100). *Waldart's* *Geological History of the British*, p. 126. The largest fleet of 50,000 men, which were sitting on the north coast, must have consisted of many thousand light and heavy infantry, that in case of their revolt, the empire would have been exposed. *Histor. Antiquit. Britan. Britan.* p. 321, and *Thamesian. Misc. Essays*, vol. vi. p. 426, 481, &c.

² The British usurpers are (after *Anton. Zonaras*, l. ii. p. 174, 175; *Orosius*, l. vi. c. 30, p. 376, 377) Olynthios, styled *Phocas*,

was the first whom they placed on the throne, as the lawful emperor of Britain, and of the West. They violated, by the hasty murder of Marcus, the oath of fidelity which they had imposed on themselves; and *their* disapprobation of his manners may seem to inscribe an honourable epitaph on his tomb. Gratian was the next whom they adorned with the diadem and the purple: and, at the end of four months, Gratian experienced the fate of his predecessor. The memory of the great Constantine, whom the British legions had given to the church and to the empire, suggested the singular motive of their third choice. They discovered in the ranks a private soldier of the name of Constantine, and their impetuous levity had already seated him on the throne, before they perceived his incapacity to sustain the weight of that glorious appellation.^a Yet the authority of Constantine was less precarious, and his government was more successful, than the transient reigns of Marcus and of Gratian. The danger of leaving his inveterate troops in those camps, which had been twice polluted with blood and sedition, urged him to attempt the reduction of the western provinces. He landed at Boulogne with an inconsiderable force; and after he had reposed himself some days, he summoned the cities

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Compton.
This is now
known as
in the
state and
United
A. D. 407.

A. D. 407.

Plutarch, p. 170, 181, the ecclesiastical historians, and the Cicerones. The Letters are written at Myra.

4. Case in Christian Science: *Christian Science*, (Hillsdale, N. J., v. 9, p. 189, col. second, May 1905): The sentence should be amended, by adding a case, of illegitimate action, who had disgraced his grandfather.

CHAP. of Gaul, which had escaped the yoke of the barbarians, to acknowledge their lawful sovereign.
XXX. They obeyed the summons without reluctance. The neglect of the court of Ravenna had absolved a deserted people from the duty of allegiance; their actual distress encouraged them to accept any circumstances of change, without apprehension, and, perhaps, with some degree of hope; and they might flatter themselves, that the troops, the authority, and even the name of a Roman emperor, who fixed his residence in Gaul, would protect the unhappy country from the rage of the barbarians. The first successes of Constantine against the detached parties of the Germans, were magnified by the voice of adulation into splendid and decisive victories: which the reunion and insulence of the enemy soon reduced to their just value. His negotiations procured a short and precarious truce: and if some tribes of the barbarians were engaged, by the liberality of his gifts and promises, to undertake the defence of the Rhine, these expensive and uncertain treaties, instead of restoring the pristine vigour of the Gallic frontier, served only to disgrace the majesty of the prince, and to exhaust what yet remained of the treasures of the republic. Elated however with this imaginary triumph, the vain deliverer of Gaul advanced into the provinces of the South, to encounter a more pressing and personal danger. Savius the Goth was ordered to lay the head of the rebel at the feet of the emperor Honorius; and the forces of Britain and Italy were unworthily consumed in this domestic

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quarrel. After the loss of his two bravest generals, Justinian and Nevigastes, the former of whom was slain in the field of battle, the latter in a peaceful but treacherous interview, Constantine fortified himself within the walls of Vienna. The place was ineffectually attacked seven days; and the imperial army supported, in a precipitate retreat, the ignominy of purchasing a secure passage from the freebooters and outlaws of the Alps.* Those mountains now separated the dominions of two rival monarchs: and the fortifications of the double frontier were guarded by the troops of the empire, whose arms would have been more usefully employed to maintain the Roman limits against the barbarians of Germany and Scythia.

On the side of the Pyrenees, the ambition of Constantine might be justified by the proximity of danger; but his throne was soon established by the conquest, or rather submission, of Spain: which yielded to the influence of regular and habitual subordination, and received the laws and magistrates of the Gallie prefecture. The only opposition which was made to the authority of Constantine, proceeded not so much from the powers of government, or the spirit of the people, as from the private zeal and interest of the family of Theodosius. Four brothers† had obtained,

He reduces
Spain,
A. D. 408.

* *Segesta* is the name which Zosimus applies to them; perhaps they deserved a less odious character, (see Dufour, Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 293, and this History, vol. ii. p. 111). We shall hear of them again.

† Valentinian, Valerian, Theodosius, and Legedius, who, in those times, would be styled princes of the blood, were not distinguished by any rank or privileges above the rest of their fellow-subjects.

CHAP. by the favour of their kinsman, the deceased em-
 XXX. peror, an honourable rank, and ample possessions,
 in their native country: and the grateful youths
 resolved to risk those advantages in the service of
 his son. After an unsuccessful effort to maintain
 their ground at the head of the stationary troops
 of Lusitania, they retired to their estates; where
 they armed and levied, at their own expense, a
 considerable body of slaves and dependants, and
 boldly marched to occupy the strong posts of the
 Pyrenean mountains. This domestic insurrec-
 tion alarmed and perplexed the sovereign of Gaul
 and Britain: and he was compelled to negotiate
 with some troops of barbarian auxiliaries, for the
 service of the Spanish war. They were distin-
 guished by the title of *Hemerians*,* a name
 which might have reminded them of their fidelity
 to their lawful sovereign; and if it should en-
 dingly be allowed that the *Scots* were influenced
 by any partial affection for a British prince, the
Moor and the *Maxomun* could be tempted
 only by the profuse liberality of the usurper, who
 distributed among the barbarians the military,
 and even the civil, honours of Spain. The nine
 bands of *Hemerians*, which may be easily traced
 on the establishment of the western empire,
 could not exceed the number of five thousand
 men; yet this inconsiderable force was sufficient

* These *Hemerians*, or *Hemerians*, consisted of two bands of Goths, or Alans, two of Moors, and of Maxomun, the Visigoth, the Arman, and the Gallican, *Opus Imperiale*, vol. xviii. col. lxxv. They were part of the fifty-five *Stemmi* *Palatii*, and are properly styled, or spoke of, by *Examen*, B. vi. p. 274.

to terminate a war, which had threatened the power and safety of Constantine. The rustic army of the Theodosian family was surrounded and destroyed in the Pyrenees; two of the brothers had the good fortune to escape by sea to Italy, or the East; the other two, after an interval of suspense, were executed at Arles: and if Honorius could remain insensible of the public disgrace, he might perhaps be affected by the personal misfortunes of his generous kinsmen. Such were the arduous wars which decided the possession of the western provinces of Europe, from the walls of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules. The events of peace and war have undoubtedly been diminished by the narrow and imperfect view of the historians of the times, who were equally ignorant of the causes, and of the effects, of the most important revolutions. But the total decay of the national strength had annihilated even the last resource of a despotic government: and the revenue of exhausted provinces could no longer purchase the military service of a discontented and parallanous people.

The poet, whose flattery has ascribed to the Romans eagle the victories of Pollentia and Vercorin, pursues the hasty retreat of Alaric, from the confines of Italy, with a horrid train of imaginary spectres, such as might hover over an army of barbarians, which was almost exterminated by war, famine, and disease.* In the course of

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Negotia-
tory of
Alaric and
Silius,
A. D. 404.
404

* *Constitutio Augustina*
Palladius, *de vita honesta et gloriose* § 14. et 15.
Lactantius, *de beneficiis* § 14. et 15. et 16.

* *Constitutio Augustina* § 14. et 15. et 16.

CHAP. this unfortunate expedition, the king of the Goths
XXXI. must indeed have sustained a considerable loss;
CAVALIERS and his harassed forces required an interval of
 repose to recruit their numbers, and revive their
 confidence. Adversity had exercised, and dis-
 played, the genius of Alaric; and the fame of his
 valour invited to the Gothic standard the bravest
 of the barbarian warriors; who, from the Euxine
 to the Rhine, were agitated by the desire of
 rapine and conquest. He had deserved the esteem,
 and he soon accepted the friendship, of Stilicho
 himself. Renouncing the service of the emperor
 of the East, Alaric concluded, with the court of
 Ravenna, a treaty of peace and alliance, by which
 he was declared master-general of the Roman
 armies throughout the prefecture of Illyricum:
 as it was claimed, according to the true and
 ancient limits, by the minister of Honorius.¹ The
 execution of the ambitious design, which was
 either stipulated, or implied, in the articles of
 the treaty, appears to have been suspended by the
 formidable irruption of Radagaisus: and the
 neutrality of the Gothic king may perhaps be
 compared to the indifference of Cæsar, who, in
 the conspiracy of Catiline, refused either to assist,
 or to oppose, the enemy of the republic. After
 the defeat of the Vandals, Stilicho resumed his
 pretensions to the provinces of the East: appointed
 civil magistrates for the administration of justice.

¹ These dark transactions are investigated by the Count de Buat, (*Hist. des Empires de l'Europe*, tom. vii. c. iii. p. 48-50), whose cautious accuracy may sometimes suggest a superfluous reader.

and of the finances; and declared his impatience to lead to the gates of Constantinople, the united armies of the Romans and of the Goths. The prudence, however, of Stilicho, his aversion to civil war, and his perfect knowledge of the weakness of the state, may countenance the suspicion, that domestic peace, rather than foreign conquest, was the object of his policy; and that his principal care was to employ the forces of Alaric at a distance from Italy. This design could not long escape the penetration of the Gothic king, who continued to hold a doubtful, and perhaps a treacherous, correspondence with the rival courts; who protracted, like a dissatisfied mercenary, his languid operations in Thessaly and Epirus, and who soon returned to claim the extravagant reward of his ineffectual services. From his camp near Emona,¹ on the confines of Italy, he transmitted, to the emperor of the West, a long account of promises, of expences, and of demands; called for immediate satisfaction, and clearly intimated the consequences of a refusal. Yet if his conduct was hostile, his language was decent and dutiful. He humbly professed himself the friend of Stilicho, and the soldier of Honorius; offered his person and his troops to march, without delay, against the usurper of

¹ See Zosimus, l. vi, p. 334, 335. He interrupts his empty narrative, to relate the fall of Emona, and of the ship *Argos*, which was blown over board from that place to the Adriatic. Zosimus, (l. vii, c. 25; l. ix, n. 4), and Socrates, (l. vii, c. 30), meet a pale and doubtful light; and Orosius (l. vii, n. 38, p. 371) is circumstantially partial.

CHAP. VIII. Gaul; and solicited, as a permanent retreat for the Gothic nation, the possession of some vacant province of the western empire.

Deliberations of the Roman senate, 400. A. D. 400. The political and secret transactions of two statesmen, who laboured to deceive each other and the world, must for ever have been enshrouded in the impenetrable darkness of the cabinet, if the debates of a popular assembly had not thrown some rays of light on the correspondence of Alaric and Stilicho. The necessity of finding some artificial support for a government, which, from a principle, not of moderation, but of weakness, was obliged to negotiate with its own subjects, had insensibly revived the authority of the Roman senate; and the minister of Honorius respectfully consulted the legislative council of the republic. Stilicho assembled the senate in the palace of the Cæsars; represented, in a studied oration, the actual state of affairs; proposed the demands of the Gothic king; and submitted to their consideration the choice of peace or war. The senators, as if they had been suddenly awakened from a dream of four hundred years, appeared on this important occasion to be inspired by the courage, rather than by the wisdom, of their predecessors. They loudly declared, in regular speeches, or in tumultuary acclamations, that it was unworthy of the majesty of Rome, to purchase a precarious and disgraceful truce from a barbarian king; and that, in the judgment of a magnanimous people, the chance of ruin was always preferable to the certainty of dishonour.

The minister, whose pacific intentions were seconded only by the voices of a few servile and venal followers, attempted to allay the general ferment, by an apology for his own conduct, and even for the demands of the Gothic prince. "The payment of a subsidy, which had excited the indignation of the Romans, ought not (such was the language of Stilicho) to be considered in the solemn light, either of a tribute, or of a ransom, extorted by the menaces of a barbarian enemy. Alaric had faithfully asserted the just pretensions of the republic to the provinces which were usurped by the Greeks of Constantinople: he modestly required the fair and stipulated recompence of his services; and if he had desisted from the prosecution of his enterprise, he had obeyed, in his retreat, the peremptory, though private, letters of the emperor himself. These contradictory orders (he would not dissimble the errors of his own family) had been procured by the intercession of Serena. The tender piety of his wife had been too deeply affected by the discord of the royal brothers, the sons of her adopted father; and the sentiments of nature had too easily prevailed over the stern dictates of the public welfare." These plausible reasons, which faintly disguise the obscure intrigues of the palace of Ravenna, were supported by the authority of Stilicho; and obtained, after a warm debate, the reluctant approbation of the senate. The tumult of virtue and freedom subsided; and the sum of four thousand pounds of gold was granted, under the name

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of a subsidy, to secure the peace of Italy, and to conciliate the friendship of the king of the Goths. Lampadius alone, one of the most illustrious members of the assembly, still persisted in his dissent; exclaimed with a loud voice,—“This is not a treaty of peace, but of servitude;” and escaped the danger of such bold opposition by immediately retiring to the sanctuary of a Christian church.

Integrity
of the
palace,
A. D. 406,
May.

But the reign of Stilicho drew towards its end; and the proud minister might perceive the symptoms of his approaching disgrace. The generous boldness of Lampadius had been applauded; and the senate, so patiently resigned to a long servitude, rejected with disdain the offer of invidious and imaginary freedom. The troops, who still assumed the name and prerogatives of the Roman legions, were exasperated by the partial affection of Stilicho for the barbarians: and the people imputed to the mischievous policy of the minister, the public misfortunes, which were the natural consequence of their own degeneracy. Yet Stilicho might have continued to brave the clamours of the people, and even of the soldiers, if he could have maintained his dominion over the feeble mind of his pupil. But the respectful attachment of Honorius was converted into fear, suspicion, and hatred. The crafty Olympius,*

* *Stilicho*, l. v. p. 324, 325. He repeats the words of Lampadius, as they were spoken in Latin,—“*Nec est pax, sed potius servitus.*” and then translates them into Greek for the benefit of his readers.

— *He comes from the court of the Eunuchs, and exercises a splendid office, although he has none of the traditional authority.* His action justifies his

who concealed his vices under the mask of Christian piety, had secretly undermined the benefactor, by whose favour he was promoted to the honourable offices of the imperial palace. Olympius revealed to the unsuspecting emperor, who had attained the twenty-fifth year of his age, that he was without weight, or authority, in his own government; and artfully alarmed his timid and insolent disposition by a lively picture of the designs of Stilicho, who already meditated the death of his sovereign, with the ambitious hope of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucharinus. The emperor was instigated, by his new favourite, to assume the tone of independent dignity; and the minister was astonished to find, that secret resolutions were formed in the court and council, which were repugnant to his interest, or to his intentions. Instead of residing in the palace of Rome, Honorius declared, that it was his pleasure to return to the secure fortress of Ravenna. On the first intelligence of the death of his brother Arcadius, he prepared to visit Constantinople, and to regulate, with the authority of a guardian, the provinces of the infant Theodosius.* The representation of the diffi-

his character, which Zedner (l. c. p. 240) exposes with visible satisfaction. A stigma tinctured the piety of Olympius, whom he styles a traitor of the church. (Bosman, *Annal. Sacror. A. D. 408. N. 18. Ap. Titmann, Mem. Porphy. tom. 2. lib. p. 461. 468.* But those crimes, which the Africans call an unworthily sentence, might proceed, as well from ignorance, as from ambition.

* Zedner, l. c. p. 250, 251. Bosman, l. cit. c. 4. Stilicho offered to undertake the journey to Constantinople, that he might direct Honorius from the vain attempt. The eastern empire would not have obeyed, and could not have been conquered.

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cally and expence of such a distant expedition, checked this strange and sudden sally of active diligence: but the dangerous project of showing the emperor to the camp of Pavia, which was composed of the Roman troops, the enemies of Stilicho, and his barbarian auxiliaries, remained fixed and unalterable. The minister was pressed, by the advice of his confident Justinian, a Roman advocate, of a lively and penetrating genius, to oppose a journey so prejudicial to his reputation and safety. His strenuous, but ineffectual, efforts confirmed the triumph of Olympius: and the prudent lawyer withdrew himself from the impending ruin of his patron.

*Gregory
and death
of Stilicho,
A. D. 408,
Aug. 23.*

In the passage of the emperor through Bologna, a mutiny of the guards was excited and appeased by the secret policy of Stilicho: who announced his instructions to decimate the guilty, and ascribed to his own intercession the merit of their pardon. After this tumult, Honorius embarked, for the last time, the minister whom he now considered as a tyrant, and proceeded on his way to the camp of Pavia: where he was received by the loyal acclamations of the troops who were assembled for the service of the Gallic war. On the morning of the fourth day, he pronounced, as he had been taught, a military oration in the presence of the soldiers, whom the shameful vices, and artful discourses, of Olympius had prepared to execute a dark and bloody conspiracy. At the first signal, they massacred the friends of Stilicho: the most illustrious officers of the ene-

three; two prætorian præfects, of Gaul, and of Italy; two masters-general, of the cavalry, and infantry; the master of the offices; the quaestor, the treasurer, and the count of the domestics. Many lives were lost; many houses were plundered; the furious sedition continued to rage till the close of the evening; and the trembling emperor, who was seen in the streets of Pavia, without his robes or diadem, yielded to the persuasions of his favourites; condemned the memory of the slain; and solemnly approved the innocence and fidelity of their assassins. The intelligence of the massacre of Pavia filled the mind of Stilicho with just and gloomy apprehensions: and he instantly summoned, in the camp of Bologna, a council of the confederate leaders, who were attached to his service, and would be involved in his ruin. The impetuous voice of the assembly called aloud for arms, and for revenge; to march, without a moment's delay, under the banners of a hero, whom they had so often followed to victory; to surprise, to oppress, to extirpate the guilty Olympius, and his degenerate Romans; and perhaps to fix the diadem on the head of their injured general. Instead of executing a resolution, which might have been justified by success, Stilicho hesitated till he was irrecoverably lost. He was still ignorant of the fate of the emperor; he distrusted the fidelity of his own party; and he viewed with horror the fatal consequences of arming a crowd of licentious barbarians, against the soldiers and people of Italy. The confederates, impatient of



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his timorous and doubtful delay, hastily retired, with fear and indignation. At the hour of midnight, Savius, a Gothic warrior, renowned among the barbarians themselves for his strength and valour, suddenly invaded the camp of his benefactor, plundered the baggage, cut in pieces the faithful Huns, who guarded his person, and penetrated to the tent, where the minister, pensive and sleepless, meditated on the dangers of his situation. Stilicho escaped with difficulty from the sword of the Goth; and, after issuing a last and groaning admonition to the cities of Italy, to shut their gates against the barbarians, his confidence, or his despair, urged him to throw himself into Ravenna, which was already in the absolute possession of his enemies. Olympius, who had restored the dominion of Honorius, was specially informed, that his rival had embraced, as a suppliant, the altar of the Christian church. His base and cruel disposition of the hypocrite was incapable of pity or remorse; but he piously affected to chide, rather than to violate, the privilege of the sanctuary. Count Heracian, with a troop of soldiers, appeared, at the dawn of day, before the gates of the church of Ravenna. The bishop was satisfied, by a solemn oath, that the imperial mandate only directed them to secure the person of Stilicho: but, as soon as the unfortunate minister had been tempted beyond the holy threshold, he produced the warrant for his instant execution. Stilicho supported, with calm resignation, the injurious names of traitor and

patricide: repressed the unseasonable zeal of his followers, who were ready to attempt an ineffectual rescue: and, with a firmness not unworthy of the best of the Roman generals, submitted his neck to the sword of Herculian.*

The servile crowd of the palace, who had so long adored the fortune of Stilicho, affected to insult his fall; and the most distant connection with the master-general of the West, which had so lately been a title to wealth and honours, was studiously denied, and rigorously punished. His family, united by a triple alliance with the family of Theodosius, might envy the condition of the meanest peasant. The flight of his son Eucherius was intercepted: and the death of that innocent youth soon followed the divorce of Thermantia, who filled the place of her sister Maria: and who, like Maria, had remained a virgin in the imperial bed.† The friends of Stilicho, who had escaped the massacre at Ravenna, were persecuted by the implacable revenge of Olympius: and the most exquisite cruelty was employed to extort the confession of a treasonable and sacrilegious conspiracy. They died in silence: their firmness justified the

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His history previously omitted.

* Zosimus II. v. p. 218-222; but especially, though not exactly, the last the English and death of Stilicho. Orosius, lib. viii. c. 12; Theodoret, lib. vi. c. 26, p. 271, 272; Sozomenus, lib. ix. c. 41, and Palladius, lib. vi. c. 34, 35, c. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

† Zosimus, lib. ii. p. 82. The marriage of a Christian with a pagan, according to Theodosius, (lib. vi. c. 1, p. 271) was against the law, and Pope Innocent I. should have done nothing to the very point of excommunication.

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choice,¹ and perhaps absolved the innocence of their patron; and the despotic power, which could take his life without a trial, and stigmatize his memory without a proof, has no jurisdiction over the impartial suffrage of posterity.² The services of Sullebo are great and manifest; his crimes, as they are vaguely stated in the language of flattery and hatred, are obscure, at least, and improbable. About four months after his death, an edict was published in the name of Honorius, to restore the free communication of the two empires, which had been so long interrupted by the *public enemy*.³ The minister, whose fame and fortune depended on the prosperity of the state, was accused of betraying Italy to the barbarians; whom he repeatedly vanquished at Pollentia, at Verona, and before the walls of Florence. His pretended design of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucherius, could not have been conducted without preparations or accomplices; and the ambitious father would not surely have left the future emperor, till the twentieth year of his age, in the

¹ Two of his friends are honourably mentioned, *Quintus*, l. 6, p. 246y; *Petrus*, chief of the school of lawyers, and the great chamberlain *Demetrius*. Sullebo had married the bed-chamberlain; and it is surprising, that, under a trivial pretence, the bed-chamberlain was any able to secure him.

² *Orator* de vita c. 28, p. 411. 412 seems to copy the false and fictitious traditions, which were current through the provinces by the new administration.

³ See the *Theodosian Code*, l. viii. tit. xxi. leg. 1; l. viii. tit. xlii. leg. 22. Sullebo is invested with the name of *publicus paterfamilias*, who employed his wealth, as we are directed, to entertain and feed his troops.

humble station of tribune of the senators. Even the religion of Stilicho was arraigned by the malice of his rival. The reasonable, and almost miraculous, deliverance was devoutly celebrated by the applause of the clergy: who asserted, that the restoration of idols, and the persecution of the church, would have been the first measure of the reign of Eurharius. The son of Stilicho, however, was educated in the bosom of Christianity, which his father had uniformly professed, and zealously supported.* Serena had borrowed her magnificent necklace from the statue of Vesta,† and the pagans execrated the memory of the sacrilegious minister, by whose order the Sybilline books, the oracles of Rome, had been committed to the flames.‡ The pride and power of Stilicho constituted his real guilt. An honourable reluctance to shed the blood of his countrymen, appears to have contributed to the success of his unworthy rival: and it is the last humiliation of the character of Honorius, that posterity has not condescended to reproach him with his

* Augustin himself is entangled with the efficient laws, which Stilicho had enacted against heathenism and idolatry; and which are still extant in the Code. The only simile in Orogenius for their condensation, is, *clausurae, Ardua Fides*. A. D. 449, N. 109.
 † *Quintus, l. v. p. 311.* We may observe the baseness of the poet, in drawing their crimes with such awkward force.

† *See Basilides Numismata, (Hildesheim, &c. 1760),* in which various gold coins are described, some stamped with *Stilichus Imperator*. *Stilichus Imperator* stripped the gold plates from the doors of the temple, and sent a prophetic sentence, which was engraved under them, *Idolatrae, l. v. p. 227.* These are foolishnesses; for the charge of idolatry made weight and credit to the justice which Zosimus recommends, against his emperor.

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The poet
Claudian.

base ingratitude to the guardian of his youth, and the support of his empire.

Among the train of dependants, whose wealth and dignity attracted the notice of their own times, our curiosity is excited by the celebrated name of the poet Claudian, who enjoyed the favour of Stilicho, and was overwhelmed in the ruin of his patron. The titular offices of tribune and notary fixed his rank in the imperial court; he was indebted to the powerful intercession of Serena for his marriage with a very rich heiress of the province of Africa;^a and the statue of Claudian, erected in the forum of Trajan, was a monument of the taste and liberality of the Roman senate.^b After the praises of Stilicho became offensive and criminal, Claudian was exposed to the enmity of a powerful and unforgiving courtier, whom he had provoked by the insolence of wit. He had compared, in a lively epigram, the opposite characters of two pretorian prefects of Italy; he contrasts the innocent repose of a philosopher, who sometimes resigned the hours of business to slumber, perhaps

^a At the capital of Orpous, in modern Cyprus, by all the poets of antiquity, nature bountifully thickens various gifts, and the poor themselves exhibit their possessions. Claudian had visited Syria, not Syria, not Orpous, or Cyprus. His wealthy bride was heiress to them all. But he carried to Africa. A circumstantial letter from Serena, his June, and was more happy. *Epigr. in. 84. Seneca.*

^b Claudian took the honour like a man, who deserved it, *in gratias. Sen. Get.* The original inscription, or statue, was found at Rome, in the fifteenth century, in the house of Pompeian Lucius. The statue of a poet, far superior to Claudian, should have been erected, during his lifetime, by the sons of Seneca, his countrymen, and our benefactors. It was a noble design!

to study; with the interested diligence of a rapacious minister, indefatigable in the pursuit of unjust, or sacrilegious gain. "How happy," continues Claudian, "how happy might it be for the people of Italy, if Mallius could be constantly awake, and if Hadrian would always sleep!"* The repose of Mallius was not disturbed by this friendly and gentle admonition; but the cruel vigilance of Hadrian watched the opportunity of revenge, and easily obtained, from the enemies of Stilicho, the trifling sacrifice of an obnoxious poet. The poet concealed himself, however, during the tumult of the revolution; and, consulting the dictates of prudence rather than of honour, he addressed, in the form of an epistle, a suppliant and humble recantation to the offended prefect. He deplors, in mournful strains, the fatal indiscretion into which he had been hurried by passion and folly; submits to the imitation of his adversary; the generous examples of the clemency of gods, of heroes, and of Rons; and expresses his hope, that the magnanimity of Hadrian will not trample on a defenceless and contemptible foe, already humbled by disgrace.

* See Epigram xxi.

Mallius Malligis inani nocturnoque somno;

Invenimus Platonem curis, pectore, reple.

Amulius, lxx, Dala gentis, sapientie velle

Mallius ut vigilat, dormiat ut Platon.

Mallius was a Paphian of Alexandria. See his poetical life in *Catallus*, *Ed. Theodori*, tom. vi. p. 116. Mallius did not always sleep. He composed some elegant dialogues on the Greek system of natural philosophy, *Cons. in Mall. Theodori*, Cons. 612118.

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and poverty: and deeply wounded by the exile, the tortures, and the death of his dearest friends. Whatever might be the success of his prayer, or the accidents of his future life, the period of a few years levelled in the grave the minister and the poet: but the name of Hadrian is almost sunk in oblivion, while Claudian is read with pleasure in every country which has retained, or acquired, the knowledge of the Latin language. If we fairly balance his merits and his defects, we shall acknowledge that Claudian does not either satisfy, or silence, our reason. It would not be easy to produce a passage that deserves the epithet of sublime or pathetic: to select a verse, that melts the heart, or enlarges the imagination. We should vainly seek, in the poems of Claudian, the happy invention, and artificial conduct, of an interesting fable; or the just and lively representation of the characters and situations of real life. For the service of his patron, he published occasional panegyrics and invectives: and the design of these slavish compositions encouraged his propensity to exceed the limits of truth and nature. These imperfections, however, are compensated in some degree by the poetical virtues of Claudian. He was endow'd with the rare and precious talent of raising the most trivial, of adorning the most barren, and of diversifying the most similar, topics: his colouring, more especially in descriptive poetry, is soft and

* See Claudian's *First Epistle*. Yet, in some places, an air of irony and indignation betrays his secret reluctance.

splendid; and he seldom fails to display, and even to abuse, the advantages of a cultivated understanding, a copious fancy, an easy, and sometimes forcible, expression; and a perpetual flow of harmonious versification. To these commendations, independent of any accidents of time and place, we must add the peculiar merit which Claudian derived from the unfavourable circumstances of his birth. In the decline of arts, and of empire, a native of Egypt,* who had received the education of a Greek, assumed, in a mature age, the familiar use, and absolute command, of the Latin language;† soared above the heads of his feeble contemporaries; and placed himself, after an interval of three hundred years, among the poets of ancient Rome.‡

* National society has made since a *Phoenician*, or a *Syriac*. But the best reports of Claudian prove him a native of Alexandria, *Phoenice*, *Histor. Latine*, tom. iii, p. 171-222, edit. *Baron*.

† His first Latin verses were composed during the consulate of *Probus*, A. D. 296.

‡ *Quoniam* *illuminis* *gratum*, *se* *creavit*, *barbari*.

Et *Latine* *more* *Grecis* *Thibis* *lingua*.

Besides some Greek elegancies, which are still present, the Latin poets had composed, in Greek, the *Antiquities of Egypt*, *Antiquities of Egypt*, *Nova*, &c. It is hard only to supply the loss of good poetry that of authentic history.

§ *Strabo* (*Geograph.* p. 41) allows him to contend with the best Greek poets, *Lucanus*, *Vergil*, *Orid*, *Lyons*, and *Virgil*. His patron is the accomplished emperor *Valerianus* *Constantinus*. His subjects are numerous and passionate. Yet the slight esteem reproach the poets with, or disown, which giving too testimony to his *Latinitas*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Conquest of Italy by Alaric—Manners of the Roman senate and people—Rome is thrice besieged, and at length pillaged, by the Goths—Death of Alaric—The Goths evacuate Italy—Fall of Constantine—Gaul and Spain are occupied by the barbarians—Independence of Britain.

CHAP.
XXXI.

Weakness
of the senate
of Ravenna—
A. D.
402, Sept.

THE incapacity of a weak and distracted government may often assume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a treasonable correspondence with the public enemy. If Alaric himself had been introduced into the council of Ravenna, he would probably have advised the same measures which were actually pursued by the ministers of Honorius.* The king of the Goths would have conspired, perhaps with some reluctance, to destroy the formidable adversary, by whose arms, in Italy as well as in Greece, he had been twice overthrown. Their active and interested hatred laboriously accomplished the disgrace and ruin of the great Stilicho. The valour of Sarus, his fame in arms, and his personal, or hereditary, influence over the confederate barbarians, could recommend him only to the friends of their country, who despised, or detested, the worthless characters of Turpilio, Varanes, and Vigilantius. By the pressing

* The names of exiles, from the death of Stilicho, to the arrival of Alaric before Rome, are only to be found in Zosimus, l. v. p. 317-320.

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Alaric
reaches the
Rome,
A. D. 408,
Oct. 26.

In the arts of negotiation, as well as in those of war, the Gothic king maintained his superior ascendant over an enemy, whose seeming changes proceeded from the total want of counsel and design. From his camp, on the confines of Italy, Alaric attentively observed the revolutions of the palace, watched the progress of faction and discontent, disguised the hostile aspect of a barbarian invader, and assumed the more popular appearance of the friend and ally of the great Stilicho: to whose virtues, when they were no longer

formidable, he could pay a just tribute of sincere praise and regret. The pressing invitation of the malcontents, who urged the king of the Goths to invade Italy, was enforced by a lively sense of his personal injuries; and he might speciously complain, that the imperial ministers still delayed and eluded the payment of the four thousand pounds of gold, which had been granted by the Roman senate, either to reward his services, or to appease his fury. His decent firmness was supported by an artful moderation, which contributed to the success of his design. He required a full and reasonable satisfaction; but he gave the strongest assurances, that as soon as he had obtained it, he would immediately retire. He refused to trust the faith of the Romans, unless Atius and Jason, the sons of two great officers of state, were sent as hostages to his camp: but he offered to deliver, in exchange, several of the noblest youths of the Gothic nation. The modesty of Alaric was interpreted, by the ministers of Ravenna, as a sure evidence of his weakness and fear. They disclaimed either to negotiate a treaty, or to assemble an army: and, with a rash confidence, derived only from their ignorance of the extreme danger, irretrievably wasted the decisive moments of peace and war. While they expected, in sullen silence, that the barbarians should evacuate the confines of Italy, Alaric, with bold and rapid marches, passed the Alps and the Po; hastily pillaged the cities of Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Cremona, which yielded to his arms: increased his forces by the accession of

of the Citannus, might wantonly slaughter and devour the milk-white oxen, which had been so long reserved for the use of Roman triumphs.* A lull in the storm, and a sensible tempest of thunder and lightning, preserved the little city of Narni; but the king of the Goths, despising the ignoble prey, still advanced with unabated vigour; and after he had passed through the stately arches, adorned with the spoils of barbaric victories, he pitched his camp under the walls of Rome.[†]

During a period of six hundred and nineteen years, the seat of empire had never been violated by the presence of a foreign enemy. The unsuccessful expedition of Hannibal,[‡] served only to display the character of the senate and people; of a senate degraded, rather than ennobled, by the comparison of an assembly of kings; and of a people, to whom the ambassador of Pyrrhus ascribed the inexhaustible resources of the Hydra.[§] Each of the senators, in the time of the Punic

Hannibal
in the gates
of Rome.

* How old Citannus grows, as ancient Tullius

Veneris, says the poetical simile was

Bequeath'd to temple Deities thence Triumphs.

Anton Virgil, most of the Latin poets, Propertius, Lucan, Statius, Claudian, &c. whose passages may be found in Crevierus's Adversus have celebrated the triumphal victims of the Citannus.

† Some ideas of the march of Alaric are borrowed from the journey of Hannibal over the same ground, see Claudian lib. vi. Cons. Hon. 444, 428. The shortest distance between Ravenna and Rome was 224 Roman miles. Hume's, Warton's, p. 125.

‡ The march and extent of Hannibal are described by Livy, lib. xvi. c. 7, 8, 9, 10, 41; and the reader is made a spectator of the following scene.

§ These comparisons were used by Cato, the companion of Pyrrhus, after his return from his embassy, in which he had diligently studied

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XXVI.
ROMULUS

war, had accomplished his term of military service, either in a subordinate or a superior station; and the decree, which invested with temporary command all those who had been consuls, or censors, or dictators, gave the republic the immediate assistance of many brave and experienced generals. In the beginning of the war, the Roman people consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand citizens of an age to bear arms. Fifty thousand had already died in the defence of their country; and the twenty-three legions which were employed in the different camps of Italy, Greece, Sardinia, Sicily, and Spain, required about one hundred thousand men. But there still remained an equal number in Rome, and the adjacent territory, who were animated by the same intrepid courage; and every citizen was trained, from his earliest youth, in the discipline and exercises of a soldier. Hannibal was astonished by the constancy of the senate, who, with-

out the discipline and numbers of Rome. See Plutarch in Pyrrhus, torn II, p. 428.

In the three censuses which were made of the Roman people, about the end of the second Punic war, the numbers stood as follows, according to Livy, *Fastus*, l. xxi. *Idem*, l. xxv. 38, *et* xxvi. 37, 213, 215, 127, 128, 214, 208. The fall of the second, and the rise of the third, appears evident, that several cities, not comprehending the proximity of the Romans, have suspected some exaggeration of the last of Livy. One French historian, l. xviii. 24, and Brunslet, *Recherches Historiques*, vol. i. p. 229. They did not consider that the second census was taken only at Rome, and that the numbers were diminished, not only by the death, but likewise by the efflux of many citizens. In the third census, Livy expressly affirms, that the legions were diminished by the end of perpetual commutation. From the numbers in the list, we must necessarily deduct one-eighth above Brunslet, and four-tenths of Livy's sum. See *Population* in la Roche, p. 22.

but raising the siege of Capua, or recalling their scattered forces, expected his approach. — He encamped on the banks of the Anio, at the distance of three miles from the city: and he was soon informed, that the ground on which he had pitched his tent, was sold for an adequate price at a public auction: and that a body of troops was dismissed by an opposite road, to reinforce the legions of Spain.* He led his Africans to the gates of Rome, where he found three armies in order of battle, prepared to receive him; but Hannibal dreaded the event of a combat, from which he could not hope to escape, unless he destroyed the last of his enemies; and his speedy retreat confessed the invincible courage of the Romans.

From the time of the Punic war, the interrupted succession of senators had preserved the name and image of the republic: and the degenerate subjects of Honorius ambitiously derived their descent from the heroes who had repulsed the arms of Hannibal, and subdued the nations of the earth. The temporal honours, which the devout Paula inherited and despised, are carefully recapitulated by Jerom, the guide of her conscience, and the historian of her life. The

* I compare these two incidents as the effects of chance and necessity. I suspect that they were both managed by the administrative policy of the artists.

[illegible]

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genealogy of her father, Rogatus, which ascended as high as Agamemnon, might seem to betray a Grecian origin; but her mother, Blasilla, numbered the Scipios, Æmilius Paulus, and the Gracchi, in the list of her ancestors; and Toxotius, the husband of Paula, deduced his royal lineage from Æneas, the father of the Julian line. The vanity of the rich, who desired to be noble, was gratified by these lofty pretensions. Encouraged by the applause of their parasites, they easily imposed on the credulity of the vulgar; and were countenanced, in some measure, by the custom of adopting the name of their patron, which had always prevailed among the freedmen and clients of illustrious families. Most of these families, however, attacked by so many causes of external violence or internal decay, were gradually extirpated: and it would be more reasonable to seek for a lineal descent of twenty generations, among the mountains of the Alps, or in the peaceful solitude of Apulia, than on the theatre of Rome, the seat of fortune, of danger, and of perpetual revolutions. Under each successive reign, and from every province of the empire, a crowd of hardy adventurers, rising to eminence by their talents or their vices, usurped the wealth, the honours, and the palaces of Rome; and oppressed, or protected, the poor and humble remains of consular families; who were ignorant, perhaps, of the glory of their ancestors.²⁹

²⁹ Tacitus (Annal. iii. 46) affirms, that between the battle of Actium and the reign of Vespasian, the senate was gradually filled with new families from the Municipia and colonies of Italy.

ERAP.
XXXIThe An-
cian fa-
mily.

In the time of Scipio and Claudian, the senators unanimously yielded the pre-eminence to the Anician line; and a slight view of *their* history will serve to appreciate the rank and antiquity of the noble families, which contended only for the second place.* During the five first ages of the city, the name of the Anicians was unknown; they appear to have derived their origin from Fregeste; and the ambition of those new citizens was long satisfied with the plebeian honours of tribunes of the people.† One hundred and sixty-eight years before the Christian era, the family was ennobled by the pretorship of Anicinus, who gloriously terminated the Illyrian war by the conquest of the nation, and the captivity of their king.‡ From the triumph of that general, three consulships, in distant periods, mark the succession of the Anician name.§ From the reign of Diocle-

Nec quisquam Procerum tantis Gens nec extat
Florent, et statu diligatur Roma senatû
Ne iusticiæ parvitas, aut primæ sede relictâ
Jactantibus, de Jure Joci veritate verenda.

Clau. in Proh. et Olybii Com. 18.

Such a compliment paid to the obscure name of the Anicini has amazed the critics; but they all agree, that whatever may be the true meaning, the sense of Claudian can be applied only to the Anician family.

* The earliest date in the annals of Fregeste, is that of M. Anician Gallus, Trib. Pl. A. U. C. 306. Another tribune, Q. Anicinus, A. U. C. 308, is distinguished by the epithet of *Pyramæstus*. Livy 65, 68 places the Anici below the great families of Rome.

† Livy, 21, 22, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38. He justly apprehends the merit of Anicinus, and justly observes, that his name was clouded by the superior lustre of the Marcianæ, which preceded the Illyrian, triumph.

‡ The dates of the three consulships are, A. U. C. 303, 316, 367; the two last under the reigns of Nero and Caracalla. The account of these

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tion to the final extinction of the western empire, that name shone with a lustre which was not eclipsed in the public estimation, by the majesty of the imperial purple. The several branches, to whom it was communicated, united, by marriage or inheritance, the wealth and titles of the Annian, the Petronian, and the Olybrian houses; and in each generation the number of consulships was multiplied by an hereditary claim. The Annian family excelled in faith and in riches: they were the first of the Roman senate who embraced Christianity; and it is probable that Annius Julian, who was afterwards consul and prefect of the city, atoned for his attachment to the party of Maxentius, by the readiness with which he accepted the religion of Constantine. Their ample patrimony was increased by the in-

them consuls distinguished himself only by his infamous battery. (*Fasti Annianæ*, 741) but even the evidence of crimes, if they bear the stamp of greatness and antiquity, is admitted, without reluctance, to prove the genuineness of a noble house.

* In the sixth century, the history of the Annian name is mentioned (*Procopius*; *Vandal.* l. x. Ep. 10, 12), with singular respect by the author of a *Golden Legend of Italy*.

——— *Plato* is correct

*Compositus proinde hunc, symmiquos regibus
Hic de stirpe domi, certum est de Comitiis hunc
Fex facos summatim. Ahi, scilicet per eorum
Nobilitate virtutis, et postea de regibus.*

(*Chronicon* in *Profr.* at *Olyb.* *Consulatus* 12. *Ann.*) The *Annii*, whose name seems to have merged in the *Annian*, mark the *Fasti* with many consulships, from the time of Nerva to the fourth century.

* The title of first Christian senator may be justified by the authority of *Procopius*, or *Symmachus* l. 2. 525, and the change of the poems to the Annian family. See *Tillemont*, *Hist. des Empereurs rom.* 17, p. 1534, &c. p. 44. *Ravenn. Annal.* 8, 13. 513, 55. 78, & 11. 287, 29, &c.

dustry of Probus, the chief of the Anurina family, who shared with Gratian the honour of the consulship, and exercised, four times, the high office of praetorian prefect.* His immense estates were scattered over the wide extent of the Roman world; and though the public might suspect, or disapprove, the methods, by which they had been acquired; the generosity and magnificence of that fortunate statesman discovered the gratitude of his clients, and the admiration of strangers.† Such was the respect entertained for his memory, that the two sons of Probus, in their earliest youth, and at the request of the senate, were associated in the consular dignity: a memorable distinction, without example in the annals of Rome.‡

* The marbles of the Anurina palace, were used as a proverbial expression of splendour and splendour; but the nobles and senators of Rome

Worth of the Roman nation.

* Probus, a very celebrated general, is praised at length in the *Fasti*, beginning *Quid Ruspas*, for quædā mæcenas, pater potentissimus, quædā pater, iusto in ætate non iudicabit in morte. *Antiquæ*, *Maximæ*, lib. 11. His children and a wife acquired the joint inheritance in the Vindicta, which he had bought in the time of Pope Nicholas V. to make room for the new church of St. Peter. Basilinus, who inherits the name of this Christian emperor, has diligently preserved the inscriptions and monuments. See *Antiq. Lucæ*, A. D. 1555, N. 4-12.

† Two Persons, who travelled to Milan and Rome, to hear St. Ambrose, and by way of Probus. *Itinerary*, in *Via Anthonii*. Claudius the Great, Probus, at Orléans, 300 A.D. seems at a loss how to express the story of Probus.

‡ See the poem which Claudius addressed to the two noble youths.

§ See the inscription, the Marcellus, ap. *Roma*, *Antiq. Lucæ*, A. D. 1555, N. 24.

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aspired, in due gradation, to imitate that illustrious family. The accurate description of the city, which was composed in the Theodosian age, enumerates one thousand seven hundred and eighty *houses*, the residence of wealthy and honourable citizens.* Many of these stately mansions might almost excuse the exaggeration of the poet: that Rome contained a multitude of palaces, and that each palace was equal to a city: since it included within its own precincts, every thing which could be subservient either to use or luxury: markets, hippodromes, temples, fountains, baths, porticos, shady groves, and artificial aviaries.[†] The historian Olympiodorus, who represents the state of Rome when it was besieged by the Goths,[‡] continues to observe, that several of the richest senators received from their estates an annual income of four thousand pounds of gold, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling: without computing the stated provision of corn and wine, which, had they been sold, might have equalled in value one-third of the money. Compared to this immoderate wealth,

* See Nodding, *Rome Antica*, p. 89, 128, 100.

[†] *Quid loquar incensum inter lapideas arces
Vermis que vultu cernens fulsit arca.*

Class. Rom. Notitia, *Imperii*, vii. 44.

The poet lived at the time of the Gothic invasion. A quadruple palace would have covered Constantine's farm of four acres (*Vol. Max.* iv. 4).

[‡] In *Constantin*, *extra*, extremely, *vaga* 5—*extra*, *Epist.* 124. See a beautiful note of Mr. Dugge, *Biogr.* vol. i. p. 267, last two editions.

[§] The accurate account of Rome, in the reign of Honorius, is found in a fragment of the historian Olympiodorus, see *Plutarch* p. 187.

an ordinary revenue of a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds of gold might be considered as no more than adequate to the dignity of the senatorial rank, which required many expenses of a public and ostentatious kind. Several examples are recorded in the age of Honorius, of vain and popular nobles, who celebrated the year of their pretorship by a festival, which lasted seven days, and cost above one hundred thousand pounds sterling.* The estates of the Roman senators, which so far exceeded the proportion of modern wealth, were not confined to the limits of Italy. Their possessions extended far beyond the Ionian and Ægean seas, to the most distant provinces; the city of Nicopolis, which Augustus had founded as an eternal monument of the Actian victory, was the property of the devout Paula;† and it is

* The sum of Alypius, of Symmachus, and of Maximus, spent, during their respective pretorships, twelve, or twenty, or sixty estates, or hundred weight of gold. See Olynthius, ap. Phot. p. 107. This popular estimation allows some latitude; but it is difficult to explain a few in the Theodosian Code, (l. vi. leg. 2), which fix the expense of the first prize at 25,000, of the second at 10,000, and of the third at 15,000 *solidi*. The name of *solidi* was Men. de Constantin. des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 777) was equally applied to a piece of 12½ siliques of silver, and to a small copper coin of the value of $\frac{1}{16}$ of a part of that piece. In the former sense, the 25,000 *solidi* would be equal to 125,000*l.*; in the latter to five or six pounds sterling. The sum appears extravagant, the other is ridiculous. There must have existed some third, and middle value, which is here unaccounted for; ambiguity is an inexcusable fault in the language of laws.

† Nicopolis . . . in Actiæ littore sita possessionis sanctæ virg. Paulæ maxime est. *Idem, in præfat. Comment. ad Epistol. ad Titum, tom. ix. p. 245.* M. de Tillemont supposes, strangely enough, that it was part of Augustus's inheritance. *Mém. Eclairc. tom. xii. p. 22.*

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observed by Seneca, that the rivers which had divided hostile nations, now flowed through the lands of private citizens.* According to their temper and circumstances, the estates of the Romans were either cultivated by the labour of their slaves, or granted, for a certain and stipulated rent, to the industrious farmer. The ecclesiastical writers of antiquity strenuously recommend the former method, wherever it may be practicable; but if the object should be removed by its distance or magnitude, from the immediate eye of the master, they prefer the active care of an old hereditary tenant, attached to the soil, and interested in the produce, to the mercenary administration of a negligent, perhaps an unfaithful, steward.[†]

Their
situation.

The opulent nobles of an immense capital, who were never excited by the pursuit of military glory, and seldom engaged in the occupations of civil government, naturally resigned their leisure to the business and amusements of private life. At Rome, commerce was always held in con-

* Seneca, *Epist. lxxviii.* His language is of the declamatory kind; but declamation could scarcely exaggerate the opulence and luxury of the Romans. The philosopher himself observed some abuse of the prepositional *si* in stating that two vigorous oxen of Quadrigenæ, above three hundred thousand pounds, which he had bred at 1250 interest, produced a profit to Brutus. *Diogen. Laertius*, l. viii. p. 1003. According to the fragments of Gellius, (*Antiquar. lib. xii.* in Brown, p. 92), the same Pausanias possessed an estate near Bery, in Asiana, not sooth to the Marston of Naples.

† Columella, a wealthy master, (*Georg. lib. ii.* c. 1), always preferred tenants born on the estate. Columella, who received this custom from him, argues very judiciously on the subject. *De Re Rusticâ*, l. i. c. 7, p. 408, edit. Gessner, Lipsiæ, 1735.

tempt; but the senators, from the first age of the republic, increased their patrimonies, and multiplied their clients, by the lucrative practice of usury; and the obsolete laws were eluded, or violated, by the mutual inclinations and interests of both parties.¹ A considerable mass of treasure must always have existed at Home, either in the current coin of the empire, or in the form of gold and silver plate; and there were many sideboards in the time of Pliny, which contained more solid silver, than had been transported by Scipio from vanquished Carthage.² The greater part of the nobles, who dissipated their fortunes in profuse luxury, found themselves poor in the midst of wealth; and idle in a constant round of dissipation. Their desires were continually gratified by the labour of a thousand hands; of the numerous train of their domestic slaves, who were actuated by the fear of punishment; and of the various professions of artificers and merchants, who were more powerfully impelled by the hopes of gain. The ancients were destitute of many of the conveniences of life, which have been invented or improved by the progress of industry; and the plenty of glass and linen had diffused more real comforts among the modern

¹ Valerius and Ammian. vii. 6) have proved, from Ciceronian, and Augustan, that the senators were not allowed to lend money at usury. Yet Hagedorn, from the Theodosian Code, see Godfrey vol. ii. p. 64. tit. viii. book i. p. 422-426, that they were permitted to take one per cent. or one-half of the legal interest; and, what is more singular, this permission was granted to the young senators.

² Plin. Hist. Natur. lxxvi. 20. He stated the silver at only 4320 pounds, which is exceeded by Livy (xxx. 45) to 100,025; the former seems too little for an opulent city, the latter too much for any private individual.

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XXVI

nations of Europe, than the senators of Rome could derive from all the refinements of pompous or sensual luxury.* Their luxury, and their manners, have been the subject of minute and laborious disquisition: but as such inquiries would divert me too long from the design of the present work, I shall produce an authentic state of Rome and its inhabitants, which is more peculiarly applicable to the period of the Gothic invasion. Ammianus Marcellinus, who prudently chose the capital of the empire, as the residence the best adapted to the historian of his own times, has mixed with the narrative of public events, a lively representation of the scenes with which he was familiarly conversant. The judicious reader will not always approve the asperity of censure, the shade of circumstances, or the style of expression: he will perhaps detect the latent prejudices, and personal resentments, which soured the temper of Ammianus himself; but he will surely observe, with philosophic curiosity, the interesting and original picture of the manners of Rome!†

* The second Aristides (*Tales of Ancient Times*, &c. p. 120) has observed, with Seneca, and I believe with truth, that Augustus had neither glass to his windows, nor a shirt to his back. Under the same empire, the use of linen and glass became somewhat more common.

† It is unnecessary for me to excite the illusion which I have taken with the text of Ammianus. 1. I have omitted down just one page the sixth chapter of the twentieth, and the sixth of the twenty-eight book. 2. I have given unity and connection to the confused mass of *historia*. 3. I have followed some wandering hypotheses, and pared away some superfluities of the original. 4. I have distinguished observations which were inseparable, unless thus expressed. With these allowances, my version will be found, not literal and dead, but lively and exact.

" The greatness of Rome (such is the lan-
 " guage of the historian) was founded on the
 " rare, and almost incredible, alliance of virtue
 " and of fortune. The long period of her in-
 " fancy was employed in a laborious struggle
 " against the tribes of Italy, the neighbours and
 " enemies of the rising city. In the strength and
 " ardour of youth, she sustained the storms of
 " war; carried her victorious arms beyond the
 " seas and the mountains; and brought home
 " triumphant laurels from every country of the
 " globe. At length, verging towards old age,
 " and sometimes conquering by the terror only
 " of her name, she sought the blessings of ease
 " and tranquillity. The VENERABLE CITY,
 " which had trampled on the necks of the fiercest
 " nations; and established a system of laws, the
 " perpetual guardians of justice and freedom;
 " was content, like a wise and wealthy parent, to
 " devolve on the Caesars, her favourite sons, the
 " care of governing her ample patrimony." A
 " secure and profound peace, such as had been
 " once enjoyed in the reign of Numa, succeeded
 " to the tumults of a republic; while Rome was
 " still adored as the queen of the earth: and the
 " subject nations still revered the name of the
 " people, and the majesty of the senate. But

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 XXXI.
 Character
 of the Ro-
 man mo-
 tion, by
 Appianus
 Macrobio-
 rum.

* Claudius, who seems to have read the history of Admiration,
 speaks of this great revolution in a much less worthy style—

Postquam jam fuit in a communis Caesar
 Tyrannus, et leges solas, dominosque priores
 Artibus, in gremium patris terribis reuocet.

De Bell. Civilibus, p. 49

"of their apparel. But the modern nobles men-
 "sure their rank and consequence according to
 "the loftiness of their chariots,* and the weighty
 "magnificence of their dress. Their long robes
 "of silk and purple float in the wind; and as
 "they are agitated, by art or accident, they
 "occasionally discover the under garments; the
 "rich tunics, embordered with the figures of
 "various animals. Followed by a train of
 "fifty servants, and tearing up the pavement,
 "they move along the streets with the same
 "impetuous speed as if they travelled with post-
 "horses; and the example of the senators is
 "boldly imitated by the matrons and ladies,
 "whose covered carriages are continually driving
 "round the immense space of the city and sub-
 "urbs. Whenever these persons of high distinc-
 "tion condescend to visit the public baths, they
 "meet, on their entrance, a train of lead and

* The chariots, or coaches, of the Romans, were adorned with
 silver, richly carved and engraved; and the trappings of the horses,
 or harness, were adorned with gold. This magnificence continued
 down the reign of Nero, so that in Herculaneum and the Appian Way
 was collected with the splendid equipages of the nobles, who came out
 to meet Mr. Matheus, when she returned to Rome, six years before the
 Christian æra; Orosius, *quæst. lxxvii.* Pline Hist. Nat. lib. viii. 49.
 Pausan. *Quæst. quæst. Roman. Antiqu. Epist. ad D. 107.* 37. 40. Yet
 pomp is well exchanged for convenience; and a plain modern coach
 that is strong upon springs, is much preferable to the silver or gold coach
 of antiquity, which rotted on the wheels, and were exposed, for the
 most part, to the inclemency of the weather.

† In a family of Novatus bishop of Arles, Mr. du Vauz has dis-
 covered, and Almaine, ibid. 57. that this was a good-humoured old
 man, without blood, and fierce words, handling matters, &c. were
 represented in embroidery; and that the more plain colours, &c.
 related the story or legend of some famous saint.

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XXXI

" insolent command, and appropriate to their
 " own use the conveniences which were de-
 " signed for the Roman people. If, in these
 " places of mixed and general resort, they meet
 " any of the infamous ministers of their pleasures,
 " they express their affection by a tender cus-
 " tomer; while they proudly decline the saluta-
 " tions of their fellow-citizens, who are not
 " permitted to aspire above the honour of kissing
 " their hands, or their knees. As soon as they
 " have indulged themselves in the refreshment
 " of the bath, they resume their rings, and the
 " other emblems of their dignity: select from their
 " private wardrobe of the finest linen, such as
 " might suffice for a dozen persons, the garments
 " the most agreeable to their fancy, and main-
 " tain till their departure the same haughty de-
 " meanour; which perhaps might have been
 " excused in the great Marcellus, after the con-
 " quest of Syracuse. Sometimes, indeed, these
 " heroes undertake more arduous achieve-
 " ments; they visit their estates in Italy, and
 " procure themselves, by the toil of servile hands,
 " the amusements of the chase.* If at any
 " time, but more especially on a hot day, they
 " have courage to sail, in their painted galleys,
 " from the Lucrine lake,† to their elegant villas

* See Flory's Epistles, l. 8. Three large wild boars were afforded, and taken in the trap, without interrupting the studies of the philosopher Apollonius.

† The allusion is to the insipiduous wood Jaccus, which grows in the port, or mountains. The two lakes, Avernus and Lucrine, communicated with each other, and were filled up by the stupendous ruins of Agrippa into the Julian port, which opened, through a

" on the sea-coast of Puteoli and Cayeta,¹ they
 " compare their own expeditions to the marches
 " of Cæsar and Alexander. Yet should a fly
 " presume to settle on the silken folds of
 " their gilded umbrellas; should a sun-beam
 " penetrate through some unguarded and imper-
 " ceptible chink, they deplore their intolerable
 " hardships; and lament, in affected language,
 " that they were not born in the land of the
 " Chamberlains,² the regions of eternal darkness.
 " In these journeys into the country,³ the whole
 " body of the household marches with their
 " master. In the same manner as the cavalry and
 " infantry, the heavy and the light armed troops,

marces antennis, into the gulf of Puteoli. Virgil, who resided in the spot, has illustrated (*Georgic ii.* 301) this work at the moment of its execution; and his commentators, especially Catron, have derived much light from Strabo, Suetonius, and Dion. Eusebius and Tullius have stamped the face of the country, and traced the latter's tale, since the year 1808, into the Monte Nuovo. See Camillo Pellegrini *Disser. della Campania Felice*, p. 340, 344, &c. Arnoldi *Sanctiſſima Campana*, p. 12, 55.

¹ The *ſigna* Cæſaris at Puteoli: a line interſeptiſſima totius imperii, interſeptiſſima interſeptiſſima pene ingredia. *Cæſar ad Attic.* xiv. 17.

² The proverbial expreſſion of *Chamberlain's ſhadows* was originally borrowed from the deſcription of Homer, in the ſeventh book of the *Odyssey*, which he applies to a remote and ſolitary country in the ſhores of the ocean. See Bernard Adreſſa, in his works, tom. ii. p. 280, the Latin edition.

³ *W*hen Lucius Otus Seneca, ſpelt, exactly three hundred ſixty-nine years, relative to the journeys of the Romans. 1. They were preceded by a troop of Numidian light horſe, who ſcoured, by a cloud of diſt, the approach of a great army. 2. Their baggage-wheels transported not only the preſent war, but even the ſupplies of ſtores and ſtores, which had already been provided by the learned French translators of Seneca, tom. iii. p. 402-429, in ſome of the portions of *Cham and Janna*. 3. The beautiful faces of the young ſlaves were covered with a moderate exert, of ſuffering, which secured them againſt the effects of the ſun and frost.

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XXIII

"the advanced guard and the rear, are marshalled by the skill of their military leaders :
"as the domestic officers, who bear a rod, as an
"ensign of authority, distribute and arrange the
"numerous train of slaves and attendants. The
"luggage and wardrobe move in the front, and
"are immediately followed by a multitude of
"cooks, and inferior ministers, employed in the
"service of the kitchens, and of the table. The
"main body is composed of a promiscuous
"crowd of slaves, increased by the accidental
"concourse of idle or dependant plebeians.
"The rear is closed by the favourite band of
"eunuchs, distributed from age to youth, according to the order of seniority. Their numbers, and their deformity, excite the horror
"of the indignant spectators, who are ready to
"exvocate the memory of Semiramis, for the
"cruel art which she invented, of frustrating the
"purposes of nature, and of blasting in the bud
"the hopes of future generations. In the exercise of domestic jurisdiction, the nobles of
"Rome express an exquisite sensibility for
"any personal injury, and a contemptuous indifference for the rest of the human species.
"When they have called for warm water, if a
"slave has been tardy in his obedience, he is
"instantly chastised with three hundred lashes :
"but should the same slave commit a wilful
"murder, the master will mildly observe, that
"he is a worthless fellow ; but that, if he repeats the offence, he shall not escape punish-

ment. Hospitality was formerly the virtue of the Romans; and every stranger, who could plead either merit or misfortune, was relieved or rewarded, by their generosity. At present, if a foreigner, perhaps of no contemptible rank, is introduced to one of the proud and wealthy senators, he is welcomed indeed in the first audience, with such warm professions, and such kind inquiries, that he retires, enchanted with the affability of his illustrious friend, and full of regret that he had so long delayed his journey to Rome, the native seat of manners, as well as of empire. Secure of a favourable reception, he repeats his visit the ensuing day, and is mortified by the discovery, that his person, his name, and his country, are already forgotten. If he still has resolution to persevere, he is gradually numbered in the train of dependants, and obtains the permission to pay his assiduous and unprofitable court to a haughty patron, incapable of gratitude or friendship; who scarcely deigns to remark his presence, his departure, or his return. Whenever the rich prepare a solemn and popular entertainment; whenever they celebrate, with profuse and per-

* The *stipula* was a kind of *spendebene*. The *stipula*, or *stipendium*, was a small basket, supposed to contain a quantity of his produce, of the value of 100 *quadrantes*, or twelvepence halfpenny, which were obliged to take to the till, but immediately distributed to the hungry or worthy poor, who waited at the door. This institution is very frequently mentioned in the epigrams of Martial, and the satire of Juvenal. See likewise Festus, in *Cluid.* s. 21; or Nonius, c. 10.

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 "micious luxury, their private banquet; the
 "choice of the guests is the subject of anxious
 "deliberation. The modest, the sober, and the
 "learned, are seldom preferred; and the no-
 "mendators, who are commonly swayed by
 "interested motives, have the address to insert,
 "in the list of invitations, the obscure names of
 "the most worthless of mankind. But the fre-
 "quent and familiar companions of the great,
 "are these parasites, who practise the most wro-
 "ful of all arts, the art of flattery; who eagerly
 "applaud each word, and every action, of their
 "immortal patron; gaze with rapture on his
 "marble columns, and variegated pavements;
 "and strenuously praise the pomp and elegance,
 "which he is taught to consider as a part of his
 "personal merit. At the Roman tables, the
 "turbs, the *agurculæ*, or the fish, which appear
 "of an uncommon size, are contemplated with

in Flaccian. v. 3, 7. These baskets of provisions were afterwards converted into large plates of gold and silver *auræ*, or *placæ*, which were usually given and accepted even by the private of our highest rank (See Byronic. vol. i. c. 25; st. 128; and *Monach.* p. 228, on various occasions, of ecclesiastical extravagance, &c.

* The word of an English mouse obliges me to refer to the common genus of *agurculæ*, the Latin *plæ*, the French *holy* a little animal, who inhabits the walls, and sometimes burrow in gold wealth; see Phil. Hist. Natur. vii. 87. Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. viii. p. 128. Pennant's *Synopsis of Quadrupeds*, p. 180. The art of raising and fattening great numbers of *plæ* was practised in Roman villas, as a prodigious article of rural economy, (Varro, on his *Reverend.* vi. 14.) The excessive demand of them for medicinal uses, was increased by the foolish prohibition of the Comitia, and it is reported, that they are still retained in modern Italy, and are frequently sent in presents by the Colossus princes, (see *Reverend.* the last letter of Pliny, tom. ii. p. 328; and *Baronius*, 1778).

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" curious attention; a pair of scales is accurately
 " applied, to ascertain their real weight; and,
 " while the more rational guests are disgusted by
 " the vain and tedious repetition, notaries are
 " summoned to attest, by an authentic record,
 " the truth of such a marvellous event. Another
 " method of introduction into the houses and
 " society of the great, is derived from the pro-
 " fession of gaming, or, as it is more politely
 " styled, of play. The confederates are united
 " by a strict and indissoluble bond of friendship,
 " or rather of conspiracy: a superior degree of
 " skill in the *Tesseraria* art, (which may be in-
 " terpreted the game of dice and tables),* is a
 " sure road to wealth and reputation. A master
 " of that sublime science, who, in a supper or
 " assembly, is placed below a magistrate, displays
 " in his countenance the surprise and indignation,
 " which Cato might be supposed to feel, when he
 " was refused the pretorship by the votes of a
 " capricious people. The acquisition of know-
 " ledge seldom engages the curiosity of the no-

* This game, which might be translated by the more familiar
 terms of *chance*, or *badgering*, was a favourite amusement of the
 gravest Romans; and all *Mucius Scaevola*, however, that the result
 often of a very skillful player. It was called *ludus tesserarius*.
 From the twelve cards, or tiles, which equally divided the *tabula*,
 resulted. On these, the two armies, the tiles and the stars, each con-
 sisting of three men, is called, were regularly placed, and numerous
 moves, according to the laws of the game, and the chance of the
tabula, or tiles. Dr. Hyde, who diligently traces the history and ex-
 plicit of the constitution of Rome of Pagan antiquity, from Ireland
 to Japan, gives birth, on this spring night, a splendid torrent of
 dark and immortal learning. See *Hydrasque* Dissertation, tom. ii. p. 275.
 405.

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XXI.

" Idles, who abhor the fatigue, and disdain the
 " advantages, of study; and the only books which
 " they peruse are the satires of Juvenal, and the
 " verbose and fabulous histories of Murus Maxi-
 " mus." The libraries which they have inher-
 " ited from their fathers, are secluded, like
 " dreary sepulchres, from the light of day.
 " But the costly instruments of the theatre,
 " flutes, and enormous lyres, and hydraulic or-
 " gans, are constructed for their use; and the
 " harmony of vocal and instrumental music is
 " incessantly repeated in the palaces of Rome.
 " In those palaces, sound is preferred to sense,
 " and the care of the body to that of the mind.
 " It is allowed as a salutary maxim, that the light
 " and frivolous suspicion of a contagious mela-
 " ncholy, is of sufficient weight to excuse the visits of the
 " most intimate friends: and even the servants,
 " who are despatched to make the decent inqui-
 " ries, are not suffered to return home, till they
 " have undergone the ceremony of a previous
 " ablution. Yet this selfish and unmanly defi-
 " ciency occasionally yields to the more imperious
 " passion of avarice. The prospect of gain will
 " urge a rich and gouty senator as far as Spoleto;

* Marcus Maximus, homo senum voracissimus, qui, et officina-
 riorum et columbarum imploravit. Vegetius, in Hist. August. p. 145.
 He wrote the lives of the emperors, from Trajan to Alexander Severus.
 See Gresset, *Vies des Empereurs Latins*, t. ii. c. 3. In his works,
 Ch. ix. p. 57.

* This satire is probably exaggerated. The saturnalia of Ma-
 crinus, and the epistles of Juvenal, afford satisfactory proofs, that
 Christian doctrine, and classic literature, were studiously cultivated by
 several Romans, of both sexes, and of the highest rank.

" every sentiment of arrogance and dignity is
 " subdued by the hopes of an inheritance, or
 " even of a legacy; and a wealthy, childless
 " citizen is the most powerful of the Romans.
 " The art of obtaining the signature of a favour-
 " able testament, and sometimes of hastening the
 " moment of its execution, is perfectly under-
 " stood; and it has happened, that in the same
 " house, though in different apartments, a hus-
 " band and a wife, with the laudable design of
 " over-reaching each other, have summoned
 " their respective lawyers, to declare, at the same
 " time, their mutual, but contradictory, inten-
 " tions. The distress which follows and chastises
 " extravagant luxury, often reduces the great to
 " the use of the most humiliating expedients.
 " When they desire to borrow, they employ the
 " base and supplicating style of the slave in the
 " comedy; but when they are called upon to
 " pay, they assume the royal and tragic declama-
 " tion of the grandsons of Hercules. If the de-
 " mand is repeated, they readily procure some
 " trusty sycophant, instructed to maintain a
 " charge of poison, or magic, against the insolent
 " creditor; who is seldom released from prison,
 " till he has signed a discharge of the whole debt.
 " These vices, which degrade the moral character
 " of the Romans, are mixed with a puerile su-
 " perstition, that disgraces their understanding.
 " They listen with confidence to the predictions
 " of haruspices, who pretend to read, in the

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"entrails of victims, the signs of future greatness
 "and prosperity; and there are many who do
 "not presume either to bathe, or to dine, or to
 "appear in public, till they have diligently con-
 "sulted, according to the rules of astrology, the
 "situation of Mercury, and the aspect of the
 "moon." It is singular enough, that this vain
 "credulity may often be discovered among the
 "profane sceptics, who impiously doubt, or
 "deny, the existence of a celestial power."

State and
 character
 of the peo-
 ple of
 Rome.

In populous cities, which are the seat of com-
 merce and manufactures, the middle ranks of
 inhabitants, who derive their subsistence from
 the dexterity, or labour, of their hands, are com-
 monly the most prolific, the most useful, and, in
 that sense, the most respectable, part of the com-
 munity. But the plebeians of Rome, who dis-
 dained such sedentary and servile arts, had been
 oppressed, from the earliest times, by the weight
 of debt and usury; and the husbandman, during
 the term of his military service, was obliged to
 abandon the cultivation of his farm.* The lands
 of Italy, which had been originally divided among
 the families of free and indigent proprietors,
 were insensibly purchased, or usurped, by the

* Macrobius, the friend of those Roman nobles, considered the
 stars as the cause, or at least the signs, of future events. (de Satura-
 tionibus, l. i. c. iii. p. 96.)

† The histories of Livy more particularly vi. 38, are full of the
 sufferings of the rich, and the sufferings of the poor labourer. The
 insupportable misery of a husband sowing, (Livius. Hist. i. vi. c. 28,
 p. 247, and Livius, Hist. i. vi. c. 28, must have been frequently
 repeated in those primitive times, which have been so undescribably
 grand.

avarice of the nobles; and in the age which preceded the fall of the republic, it was computed, that only two thousand citizens were possessed of any independent substance.* Yet as long as the people bestowed, by their suffrages, the honours of the state, the command of the legions, and the administration of wealthy provinces, their conscious pride alleviated, in some measure, the hardships of poverty; and their wants were seasonably supplied by the ambitious liberality of the candidates, who aspired to secure a royal majority in the thirty-five tribes, or the hundred and ninety-three centuries, of Rome. But when the prodigal commons had improbably alienated not only the *use*, but the *inheritance*, of power, they sunk, under the reign of the Cæsars, into a vile and wretched populace, which must, in a few generations, have been totally extinguished, if it had not been continually recruited by the manumission of slaves, and the influx of strangers. As early as the time of Hadrian, it was the just complaint of the ingenuous natives, that the capital had attracted the *vices* of the universe, and the manners of the most opposite nations. The intemperance of the Gauls, the cunning and levity of the Greeks, the savage obstinacy of the Egyptians and Jews, the servile temper of the Asiatics,

* *Non enim de civitate sua mille homines sed cent habemus.* Tacitus, *edit.* 4, 24, and *German.* Poth. *Monet.* in add. *Græc.* This vague computation was made A. M. C. 648, in a speech of the illustrious Philoponus, and it was his object, as well as that of the Greeks, (see *Plutarch.* *de Superb.* and perhaps *de Superb.*), the misery of the common people.

CHAP. and the dissolute, effeminate prostitution of the
 XXXI. Syrians, with mingled in the various multitude;
 which, under the proud and false denomination
 of Romans, presumed to despise their fellow-
 subjects, and even their sovereigns, who dwelt
 beyond the precincts of the *ETERNAL CITY*.¹

Public dis-
 tribution
 of bread,
 lacina, oil,
 wine, &c.

Yet the name of that city was still pronounced
 with respect: the frequent and capricious in-
 tumults of its inhabitants were indulged with impu-
 nity; and the successors of Constantine, instead
 of crushing the last remains of the democracy,
 by the strong arm of military power, embraced the
 mild policy of Augustus, and studied to relieve the
 poverty, and to amuse the idleness, of an im-
 mense people.² 1. For the convenience of the
 lazy plebeians, the monthly distributions of corn

¹ See the third Satire (95-122) of Juvenal, who indignantly re-
 plains,

Quem quaeris pariter, quosq; animas
 Iugales, Pyren, et Tiberis, autumni Messores?

Et frequentis et mœnia, &c.

SENeca, when he proposes to visit the twelve provinces of Italy
 6- 6) by the reflection, that a great part of mankind were in a
 state of exile, reminds his hearers of the inhabitants of Rome who
 were in the city.

² Almost all that is still of the bread, lacina, oil, wine, &c. may be
 found in the fourteenth book of the Theodosian Code; which expressly
 treats of the police of the great cities. See particularly the titles 30,
 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37. The collateral constitutions are printed in
 Godofrey's Commentary, and it is needless to transcribe them. Ac-
 cording to a law of Theodosius, which appoints to manum the mili-
 tary allowances, a piece of gold (solidus) (chilling) was equivalent to
 eighty pounds of bacon, or twenty pounds of oil, or twelve modii
 6C pecks) of salt. (Cod. Theod. l. 10, tit. 10, leg. 17.) This
 regulation, compared with another of seventy pounds of bacon for an
 asper, (Cod. Theod. l. 10, tit. 17, leg. 15) gives the price of wine
 at about sixteen pence the gallon.

were converted into a daily allowance of bread; a great number of ovens was constructed and maintained at the public expence; and at the appointed hour, each citizen, who was furnished with a ticket, ascended the flight of steps, which had been assigned to his peculiar quarter or division, and received, either as a gift, or at a very low price, a loaf of bread, of the weight of three pounds, for the use of his family. II. The forests of Lucania, whose acorns fattened large droves of wild hogs,^a afforded, as a species of tribute, a plentiful supply of cheap and wholesome meat. During five months of the year, a regular allowance of *lucum* was distributed to the poorer citizens; and the annual consumption of the capital, at a time when it was much declined from its former lustre, was ascertained, by an edict of Valentinian III, at three millions six hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds. III. In the manners of antiquity, the use of oil was indispensable for the lamp, as well as for the bath; and the annual tax, which was imposed on Africa for the benefit of Rome, amounted to the weight of three millions of pounds, to the measure, perhaps, of three hundred thousand English gallons. IV. The anxiety of Augustus to provide

^a The anonymous author of the *Discipline of the War*, p. 14, in book III. *Geographic Minor*, Harbours, observes of Lucania, as the *lucanensis Lucina*, Hæc abunde, et ipsa abunde habundant, et lucum nullum habet castrum. People used not to dwell there, says another antiquarian writer, &c.

^b See Strabo, all authors Coll. Tacit. De Vectib. l. i, c. 10. This law was published at Rome, June 27, A.D. 425.

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the metropolis with sufficient plenty of corn, was not extended beyond that necessary article of human subsistence; and when the popular clamour accused the dearth and scarcity of wine, a proclamation was issued, by the grave reformer, to remind his subjects, that no man could reasonably complain of thirst, since the aqueducts of Agrippa had introduced into the city so many copious streams of pure and salubrious water.^a This rigid sobriety was insensibly relaxed; and, although the generous design of Aurelian^b does not appear to have been executed in its full extent, the use of wine was allowed on very easy and liberal terms. The administration of the public cellars was delegated to a magistrate of honourable rank: and a considerable part of the vintage of Campania was reserved for the fortunate inhabitants of Rome.

One of the
public
baths.

The stupendous aqueducts, so justly celebrated by the praises of Augustus himself, replenished the *Thermae*, or baths, which had been constructed in every part of the city, with imperial magnificence. The baths of Antoninus Caracalla, which were open, at stated hours, for the indiscriminate service of the senators and the people, contained above sixteen hundred seats of marble; and more

^a Sueton. in August. c. 44. The immense abundance of the emperor himself, in his domestic wine of Rheims, never provoked a complaint. (see English note p. 40. c. 77. Tacitus ad Luc. and Artimidor's *Philos.* p. 84.)

^b His design was to plant vineyards along the sea coast of Bithynia, *Vergennes*, or Hist. August. p. 2231: the grove, (orchard), mentioned *Maximus* of modern Turkey,

than three thousand were reckoned in the baths of Diocletian.* The walls of the lofty apartments were covered with curious mosaics, that imitated the art of the pencil in the elegance of design; and the variety of colours. The Egyptian granite was beautifully intersted with the precious green marble of Numidia; the perpetual stream of hot water was poured into the capacious basins, through so many[†] wide mouths of bright and massy silver; and the meanest Roman could purchase, with a small copper coin, the daily enjoyment of a scene of pomp and luxury, which might excite the envy of the kings of Asia.† From these stately palaces issued a swarm of dirty and ragged plebeians, without shoes, and without a mantle; who loitered away whole days in the street or Forum, to hear news, and to hold disputes; who dissipated, in extravagant gaming, the miserable pittance of their wives and children; and spent the hours of the night in obscure taverns, and brothels, in the indulgence of gross and vulgar sensuality.[‡]

* Olympeus, apud Fest. p. 107.

† Strabo (lib. xiv.) compares the baths of Scipio Africanus, at the city of Locris, with the magnificence (which was constantly increasing) of the public baths of Rome, long before the stately Thermae of Antoninus and Diocletian were erected. The purchase paid for admission was the quarter of the as, about two-eighths of an English penny.

‡ *Admonitiones*, li. xlv. c. 6; and li. xxviii. c. 9; after describing the library and guests of the palace of Rome, expands, with equal truth, picture, the vice and follies of the common people.

CHAP.
XXI.Games and
spectacles.

But the most lively and splendid amusement of the idle multitude, depended on the frequent exhibitions of public games and spectacles. The piety of Christian princes had suppressed the inhuman combats of gladiators; but the Roman people still considered the Circus as their home, their temple, and the seat of the republic. The impatient crowd rushed at the dawn of day to secure their places, and there were many who passed a sleepless and anxious night in the adjacent porticos. From the morning to the evening, careless of the sun, or of the rain, the spectators, who sometimes amounted to the number of four hundred thousand, remained in eager attention; their eyes fixed on the horses and charioteers, their minds agitated with hope and fear, for the success of the colours which they espoused: and the happiness of Rome appeared to hang on the event of a race.* The same immoderate ardour inspired their clamours, and their applause, as often as they were entertained with the hunting of wild beasts, and the various modes of theatrical representation. These representations in modern capitals may deserve to be considered as a pure and elegant school of taste, and perhaps of virtue. But the Tragic and Comic Muse of the

* Juvenal Satire 11, 191, &c. The expressions of the Augustan Age are not less strong and animated than those of the middle age, and both the one and the other painted from the life. The numbers which the great Circus was capable of containing, are taken from the sagacious Notice of the city. The differences between them prove that they did not intersect each other: but the sun may spread his rays; though the country on those occasions flowed to the city.

Romans, who seldom aspired beyond the imitation of Attic genius,¹ had been almost totally silent since the fall of the republic;² and their place was unworthily occupied by licentious farce, effeminate music, and splendid pageantry. The pantomimes,³ who maintained their reputation from the age of Augustus to the sixth century, expressed, without the use of words, the various fables of the gods and heroes of antiquity; and the perfection of their art, which sometimes disarmed the gravity of the philosopher, always excited the applause and wonder of the people. The vast and magnificent theatres of Rome were filled by three thousand female dancers, and by three thousand singers, with the masters of the respective choruses. Such was the popular favour which they enjoyed, that, in a time of scarcity, when all strangers were banished from the city, the merit of contributing to the public

¹ Sometimes indeed they composed original pieces.

——— *Veridici Graeci*.

And Aristotle at Athens distinguished facts.

Hein. Putsch. ad *Caesare*, 276. and the learned, though perplexed, sense of Dacier, who might have allowed the name of tragedy to the *Revue* and the *Quintus* of Putsch, as to the *Cave of Mammon*. The *Caesare*, ascribed to one of the *Senecas*, still remains a very interesting and instructive specimen of Roman tragedy.

² In the time of Quintilian and Pliny, a stage play was esteemed as the highest method of giving a private feast, and treating the play as the company, whom he invited for that purpose, were dining at the *Caesare*, v. 8. 11, and *Plin. Epistol.* vi. 17.

³ See the *Description of London*, entitled, *de Palladium*, tom. II. p. 315. 316. with *Index*. The pantomimes changed the humorous name of *expositi*, and it was required, that they should be entertained with almost every art and science. See the *Museum de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. I. p. 123. And has given a short history of the art of pantomime.

CHAP.
XXXI.Populou-
ness of
Rome.

pleasures, exempted *them* from a law, which was strictly executed against the professors of the liberal arts.*

It is said, that the foolish curiosity of Elagabalus attempted to discover, from the quantity of spiders webs, the number of the inhabitants of Rome. A more rational method of inquiry might not have been undeserving of the attention of the wisest princes, who could easily have resolved a question so important for the Roman government, and so interesting to succeeding ages. The births and deaths of the citizens were duly registered; and if any writer of antiquity had condescended to mention the annual amount, or the common average, we might now produce some satisfactory calculation, which would destroy the extravagant assertions of critics, and perhaps confirm the modest and probable conjectures of philosophers.† The most diligent researches have collected only the following circumstances; which, slight and imperfect as they are, may tend, in some degree, to illustrate the question of the populousness of ancient Rome. I. When the capital of the empire was besieged by the

* *Amiliani*, l. xlv, c. 6. His complaining with decent indignation that the streets of Rome were filled with crowds of females, who might have given children to the state, but whose only occupation was to sell and dress their hair; and justify *conculcatus gyros, domo expulsum* *manuum concubitus, quæ ferax* &c. &c. &c. illustrates.

† *Lipius*, *de Rom. m.* p. 421. in *Maximæ Romanæ*, l. iii, c. 26. and *Dion. Viensis*, (*Observat.* Voss p. 24-25) have imagined *trecentorum vel quadringentorum milium* millions in Rome. Mr. Hume, (*Enquiry* vol. i. p. 440-457), with admirable good sense and judgment, bestows some exact disposition to estimate the populousness of ancient times.

Goths, the circuit of the walls was accurately measured, by Ammonius, the mathematician, who found it equal to twenty-one miles.* It should not be forgotten, that the form of the city was almost that of a circle; the geometrical figure which is known to contain the largest space within any given circumference. II. The architect Vitruvius, who flourished in the Augustan age, and whose evidence, on this occasion, has peculiar weight and authority, observes, that the innumerable habitations of the Roman people would have spread themselves far beyond the narrow limits of the city: and that the want of ground, which was probably contracted on every side by gardens and villas, suggested the common, though inconvenient, practice of raising the houses to a considerable height in the air.† But the looseness of these buildings, which often consisted of hasty work, and insufficient materials, was the cause of frequent and fatal accidents; and it was repeatedly enacted by Augustus, as well as by Nero, that the height of private edifices, within the walls of Rome, should not exceed the measure of seventy feet from the ground.‡ III.

* Olympiodorus, ap. Ptolemy, p. 137. See Frontinus, *De Aq. Ducl.* lib. i. c. 10.

† De Architectura lib. i. c. 1. § 1. Vitruvius speaks of the height of buildings as being regulated by the nature of the ground, and the situation of the city. He also mentions the height of the walls of Rome as being regulated by the nature of the ground, and the situation of the city.

‡ The same law is mentioned by Pliny, *Natural History*, lib. 36. c. 1. and by Suetonius, *Life of Nero*, c. 14. See also *De Architectura*, lib. 1. c. 1. § 1.

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Jurens's laments, as it should seem from his own experience, the hardships of the poorer citizens, to whom he addresses the salutary advice of emigrating, without delay, from the smoke of Rome, since they might purchase, in the little towns of Italy, a cheerful commodious dwelling, at the same price which they annually paid for a dark and miserable lodging. House-rent was therefore immoderately dear; the rich acquired, at an enormous expence, the ground, which they covered with palaces and gardens; but the body of the Roman people was crowded into a narrow space; and the different floors, and apartments, of the same house, were divided, as it is still the custom of Paris, and other cities, among several families of plebeians. IV. The total number of houses in the fourteen regions of the city, is accurately stated in the description of Rome, composed under the reign of Theodosius, and they amount to forty-eight thousand three hundred and

——— *Familie non jam vixit humet*

Turmas, nam et probris turpatur ab omni

Ultimo cubili, quæ regula ante vixit

A placha.

Jurens, Sat. iv. 162.

* Read the whole third satire, but particularly 166, 221, &c. The description of a crowded house, or lodging-house, in Petronius, (p. 88, 89), perfectly tallies with the complaints of Jurens; and we learn from legal authority, that in the time of Augustus, Attianus (Hist. Juris. Rom. v. iv, p. 181), the ordinary rent of the several *sewards*, or apartments of his house, annually produced forty thousand sesterces, between three and four hundred pounds sterling. (Pardiet. l. xiv. tit. ii, §. 30) a sum which gives us some idea of the extent, and high value, of those common buildings.

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continued.

eighty-two.* The two classes of *domus*, and of *insulae*, into which they are divided, include all the habitations of the capital, of every rank and condition, from the marble palace of the Anicii, with a numerous establishment of freedmen and slaves, to the lofty and narrow lodging-house, where the poor Codrus, and his wife, were permitted to hire a wretched garret immediately under the tiles. If we adopt the same average, which, under similar circumstances, has been found applicable to Paris,† and indifferently allow about twenty-five persons for each house, of every degree, we may fairly estimate the inhabitants of Rome at twelve hundred thousand: a number which cannot be thought excessive for the capital of a mighty empire, though it exceeds the population of the greatest cities of modern Europe.‡

Such was the state of Rome under the reign of Honorius: at the time when the Gothic army formed the siege, or rather the blockade, of the city. By a skilful disposition of his numerous

First siege
of Rome by
the Goths,
A. D. 408.

* This sum total is composed of 110,000, or 112,000, of *domus*, of 40,000 *publeae*, or publican habitations, 100,000 *strutae*, *strutae* *Armenae*, 2000, p. 401; and their distribution is ascertained by the agreement of the lists of the different *Anthon*. *Variorum*, p. 401, p. 408, 409.

† See the account given by M. de Mommien, *Abhandlungen*, ix. 2, folio 107, 108 &c. From particular statistics quoted by Mommien, p. 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

† The computation is not very different from that which H. Bader, in his *histoire de l'empire romain*, ii. p. 200, has estimated from similar considerations, though he seems to set it at a degree or two below, which is well within possible and important bounds.

‡ See the account of the first siege of Rome, which was then surrounded with walls of the second wall (1815), in *Quintus*, i. v. p. 122.

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forces, who impatiently watched the moment of an assault. Alaric encompassed the walls, commanded the twelve principal gates, intercepted all communication with the adjacent country, and vigilantly guarded the navigation of the Tiber, from which the Romans derived the surest and most plentiful supply of provisions. The first emotions of the nobles, and of the people, were those of surprise and indignation, that a vile barbarian should dare to insult the capital of the world: but their arrogance was soon humbled by misfortune; and their unmanly rage, instead of being directed against an enemy in arms, was meanly exercised on a defenceless and innocent victim. Perhaps in the person of Serena, the Romans might have respected the niece of Theodosius, the aunt, nay even the adopted mother, of the reigning emperor: but they abhorred the widow of Stilicho; and they listened with credulous passion to the tale of calumny, which accused her of maintaining a secret and criminal correspondence with the Gothic invader. Actuated, or overawed, by the same popular frenzy, the senate, without requiring any evidence of her guilt, pronounced the sentence of her death. Serena was ignominiously strangled; and the infatuated multitude were astonished to find, that this cruel act of injustice did not immediately produce the retreat of the barbarians, and the deliverance of the city. That unfortunate city

Vander-

234. *Strabon*, l. iv. p. 6. *Olympiodorus*, ap. Phot. p. 162. *Philostorgius*, l. xli. c. 24. and *Geography*, *Diocetian*, p. 467-475.

gradually experienced the distress of scarcity, and at length the horrid calamities of famine. The daily allowance of three pounds of bread was reduced to one-half, to one-third, to nothing; and the price of corn still continued to rise in a rapid and extravagant proportion. The poorer citizens, who were unable to purchase the necessaries of life, solicited the precarious charity of the rich; and for a while the public misery was alleviated by the humanity of Larta, the widow of the emperor Gratian, who had fixed her residence at Rome, and consecrated to the use of the indigent, the princely revenue, which she usually received from the grateful successors of her husband.¹ But these private and temporary donations were insufficient to appease the hunger of a numerous people; and the progress of famine invaded the marble palaces of the senators themselves. The persons of both sexes, who had been educated in the enjoyment of ease and luxury, discovered how little is requisite to supply the demands of nature; and lavished their unavailing treasures of gold and silver, to obtain the coarse and scanty sustenance which they would formerly have rejected with disdain. The food the most repugnant to sense or imagination, the aliments the most unwholesome and pernicious to the constitution, were eagerly devoured, and fiercely disputed, by the rage of hunger. A dark suspicion was entertained, that some desperate

¹ The mother of Larta was named Flacciana. Her name, family, and country, are unknown. — *Deuring's Fidei Byzantina* p. 27.



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XXXI.

Plague.

Supersti-
tion.

wretched fed on the bodies of their fellow-citizens, whom they had secretly murdered; and even mothers, (such was the horrid conflict of the two most powerful instincts implanted by nature in the human breast), even mothers are said to have tasted the flesh of their slaughtered infants! Many thousands of the inhabitants of Rome expired in their houses, or in the streets, for want of sustenance; and as the public sepulchres without the walls were in the power of licentiousness, the stench, which arose from so many putrid and unburied carcases, infected the air; and the miseries of famine were succeeded and aggravated by the contagion of a pestilential disease. The assurances of speedy and effectual relief, which were repeatedly transmitted from the court of Ravenna, supported, for some time, the fainting resolution of the Romans, till at length the despair of any human aid tempted them to accept the offers of a preternatural deliverance. Pompeianus, prefect of the city, had been persuaded, by the art or fanaticism of some Tuscan diviners, that, by the mysterious force of spells and sacrifices, they could extract the lightning from the clouds, and point those celestial fires against the

* An excellent, since much misapprehended, passage, in the *Agamemnon*, would seem to hint under this people horrid industries, or resistance, quite possible in the extreme. *Journ. of Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 121. The most horrid circumstance is likewise told of the sieges of Jerusalem and Pella. For the latter, compare the fourth book of the *Macchabees*, and the *Journal de Henry IV.* tom. i. p. 41-42; and observe that a plain description of facts is much more powerful than the most elaborate descriptions of epic poetry.

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king of the Goths. The senate, who in this emergency assumed the supreme powers of government, appointed two ambassadors to negotiate with the enemy. This important trust was delegated to Bonifas, a senator, of Spanish extraction, and already conspicuous in the administration of provinces; and to John, the first tribune of the notaries, who was peculiarly qualified, by his dexterity in business, as well as by his former intimacy with the Gothic prince. When they were introduced into his presence, they declared, perhaps in a more lofty style than became their abject condition, that the Romans were resolved to maintain their dignity, either in peace or war; and that, if Alaric refused them a fair and honourable capitulation, he might sound his trumpets, and prepare to give battle to an innumerable people, exercised in arms, and animated by despair. "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed," was the concise reply of the barbarian; and this rustic metaphor was accompanied by a loud and insulting laugh, expressive of his contempt for the menaces of an unwarlike populace, enervated by luxury before they were emaciated by famine. He then condescended to fix the ransom, which he would accept as the price of his retreat from the walls of Rome: *all* the gold and silver in the city, whether it were the property of the state, or of individuals; *all* the rich and precious moveables; and *all* the slaves who could prove their title to the name of *barbaricus*. The ministers of the senate pre-

sumed to ask, in a modest and suppliant tone,—
 “ If such, O King! are your demands, what do
 “ you intend to leave us?” “ Your LIVES,”
 replied the haughty conqueror. They trembled,
 and retired. Yet before they retired, a short sus-
 pension of arms was granted, which allowed some
 time for a more temperate negotiation. The
 stern features of Alaric were insensibly relaxed;
 he abated much of the rigour of his terms; and
 at length consented to raise the siege, on the im-
 mediate payment of five thousand pounds of gold,
 of thirty thousand pounds of silver, of four thou-
 sand robes of silk, of three thousand pieces of
 fine scarlet cloth, and of three thousand pounds
 weight of pepper.¹ But the public treasury was
 exhausted: the annual rents of the great estates
 in Italy and the provinces, were intercepted by
 the calamities of war; the gold and gems had
 been exchanged during the famine, for the vilest
 sustenance; the hoards of secret wealth were still
 concealed by the obstinacy of avarice; and some
 remains of consecrated spoils afforded the only
 resource that could avert the impending ruin of
 the city. As soon as the Romans had satisfied
 the rapacious demands of Alaric, they were re-
 stored, in some measure, to the enjoyment of

¹ Pepper was a favourite ingredient of the most delicious Roman
 cooking, and the best was commonly sold for silver, namely, at two
 siliquæ, the pound. See Pliny, Hist. Natur. lib. 16. It was brought
 from India; and the same country, the coast of Malabar, still affords
 the precious plenty; but the improvement of trade and navigation has
 multiplied the quantity, and reduced the price. See Hist. Nat.
 Populi & Philosophique, tom. 2. p. 437.

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peace and plenty. Several of the gates were cautiously opened; the importation of provisions from the river, and the adjacent country, was no longer obstructed by the Goths: the citizens resorted in crowds to the free market, which was held during three days in the suburbs; and while the merchants who undertook this gainful trade, made a considerable profit, the future subsistence of the city was secured by the ample magazines which were deposited in the public and private granaries. A more regular discipline, than could have been expected, was maintained in the camp of Alaric: and the wise barbarian justified his regard for the faith of treaties, by the just severity with which he chastised a party of licentious Goths, who had invited some Roman citizens on the road to Ostia. His army, enriched by the contributions of the capital, slowly advanced into the fair and fruitful province of Tuscany, where he proposed to establish his winter-quarters; and the Gothic standard became the refuge of forty thousand barbarian slaves, who had broke their chains, and aspired, under the command of their great deliverer, to revenge the injuries, and the disgrace, of their cruel servitude. About the same time, he received a more honourable reinforcement of Goths and Huns, whom Adolphus, the brother of his wife,

1 This Gothic chieftain is called, by *Isidorus* and *Jordanes*, *Adolphus*; by *Procopius* and *Orosius*, *Adolphus*; and by *Gregory of Tours*, *Adolphus*. I have used the celebrated name of *Adolphus*, which seems to be authorized by the practice of the French, the name of brother of the great Gothic.

And conducted, at his pressing invitation, from the banks of the Danube to those of the Tiber, and who had cut their way, with some difficulty and loss, through the superior numbers of the imperial troops. A victorious leader, who united the daring spirit of a barbarian with the art and discipline of a Roman general, was at the head of an hundred thousand fighting men; and Italy pronounced, with terror and respect, the formidable name of Alaric.

At the distance of fourteen centuries, we may be satisfied with relating the military exploits of the conquerors of Rome, without pretending to investigate the motives of their political conduct. In the midst of his apparent prosperity, Alaric was conscious, perhaps, of some secret weakness, some internal defect; or perhaps the moderation which he displayed, was intended only to deceive and disarm the easy credulity of the ministers of Honorius. The king of the Goths repeatedly declared, that it was his desire to be considered as the friend of peace, and of the Romans. Three senators, at his earnest request, were sent ambassadors to the court of Ravenna, to solicit the delivery of hostages, and the conclusion of the treaty: and the proposals, which he more clearly expressed during the course of the negotiations, could only inspire a doubt of his sincerity, as they might seem inadequate to the state of his fortune. The barbarian still aspired to the rank

* The walls between Alaric and the Romans, &c. in *the Annals*, Tom. i. p. 221, 223, 228, 229, 232, 233. The additional information we can feel and feel to require any other questions.

CHAP. of master-general of the armies of the West; he stipulated an annual subsidy of corn and money; and he chose the provinces of Dalmatia, Noricum, and Venetia, for the seat of his new kingdom, which would have commanded the important communication between Italy and the Danube. If these modest terms should be rejected, Alaric shewed a disposition to relinquish his pecuniary demands, and even to content himself with the possession of Noricum; an exhausted and impoverished country, perpetually exposed to the invasions of the barbarians of Germany.* But the hopes of peace were disappointed by the weak obstinacy, or interested views, of the minister Olympius. Without listening to the salutary remonstrances of the senate, he dismissed their ambassadors under the conduct of a military escort, too numerous for a retinue of honour, and too feeble for an army of defence. Six thousand Dalmatians, the flower of the imperial legions, were ordered to march from Ravenna to Rome, through an open country, which was occupied by the formidable myriads of the barbarians. These brave legionaries, encompassed and betrayed, fell a sacrifice to ministerial folly; their general, Valens, with an hundred soldiers, escaped from the field of battle; and one of the ambassadors, who could no longer claim the protection of the law of nations, was obliged to purchase his freedom with a ransom of thirty thousand pieces of gold. Yet Alaric, instead of resenting this act of impotent hostility, imbu-

* Zosimus, l. i. p. 287, 388, 393.

diately renewed his proposals of peace; and the second embassy of the Roman senate, which derived weight and dignity from the presence of Innocent, bishop of the city, was guarded from the dangers of the road by a detachment of Gothic soldiers.*

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XXV.

Change
and success
even of
ministers.

Olympius^b might have continued to insult the just resentment of a people, who loudly accused him as the author of the public calamities; but his power was undermined by the secret intrigues of the palace. The favourite eunuch transferred the government of Honorius, and the empire, to Jovius, the pretorian prefect; an unworthy servant, who did not atone, by the merit of personal attachment, for the errors and misfortunes of his administration. The exile, or escape, of the guilty Olympius, reserved him for more vicissitudes of fortune: he experienced the adventures of an obscure and wandering life; he again rose to power; he fell a second time into disgrace; his ears were cut off; he expired under the lash; and his ignominious death afforded a grateful spectacle to the friends of Stilicho. After the removal of Olympius, whose character was deeply tainted with religious fanaticism, the pagans and heretics were delivered from the impolitic proscription, which excluded them from the dignities of the state. The brave

* Zosimus, l. 1, p. 260, 261, 262. The bishops, by demanding a Ransom, escaped the insupportable calamities of the city. Orosius, l. vi c. 39, p. 278.

^b For the adventures of Olympius, and his restoration to the ministry, see Zosimus, l. 1, p. 263, 264, 265, and (Theophrastus, ap. Phot. p. 190, 191.

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XXXI.

Gennerich,^a a soldier of barbarian origin, who still adhered to the worship of his ancestors, had been obliged to lay aside the military belt: and though he was repeatedly assured by the emperor himself, that laws were not made for persons of his rank or merit, he refused to accept any partial dispensation, and persevered in honourable disgrace, till he had extorted a general act of justice from the distress of the Roman government. The conduct of Gennerich, in the important station, to which he was promoted or restored, of master-general of Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhaetia, seemed to revive the discipline and spirit of the republic. From a life of illness and want, his troops were soon habituated to severe exercise, and plentiful subsistence; and his private generosity often supplied the rewards, which were denied by the avarice, or poverty, of the court of Ravenna. The valour of Gennerich, formidable to the adjacent barbarians, was the firmest bulwark of the Illyrian frontier; and his vigilant care assisted the empire with a reinforcement of ten thousand Huns, who arrived on the confines of Italy, attended by such a convoy of provisions, and such a numerous train of sheep and oxen, as might have been sufficient, not only for the march of an army, but for the settlement of a colony. But the court and coun-

^a Tacitus *l. v. c. 54*, relates this circumstance with equal simplicity, and without the smallest allusion to the just glory of expelling pagans. Very different were the sentiments of the emperor at Aachen, who deputed two bishops to the court of Ravenna, to compulse the Sax, which had been just subdued, that all prisoners of Christianity should be free and recovered. See *Hartmann's Annal. Eccles. A. D. 408, N. 12; A. D. 410, N. 47, &c.*

cile of Honorius still remained a scene of weakness and distraction, of corruption and anarchy. Instigated by the prefect Jovius, the guards rose in furious mutiny, and demanded the heads of two generals, and of the two principal eunuchs. The generals, under a perfidious promise of safety, were sent on ship-board and privately executed; while the favour of the eunuchs procured them a mild and secure exile at Milan and Constantinople. Eusebius the eunuch, and the barbarian Allobich, succeeded to the command of the bed-chamber and of the guards; and the mutual jealousy of these subordinate ministers was the cause of their mutual destruction. By the insolent order of the count of the domestics, the great chamberlain was shamefully beaten to death with sticks, before the eyes of the astonished emperor; and the subsequent assassination of Allobich, in the midst of a public procession, is the only circumstance of his life, in which Honorius discovered the faintest symptom of courage or resentment. Yet before they fell, Eusebius and Allobich had contributed their part to the ruin of the empire, by opposing the conclusion of a treaty which Jovius, from a selfish, and perhaps a criminal, motive, had negotiated with Alaric, in a personal interview under the walling Rhine. During the absence of Jovius, the emperor was persuaded to assume a lofty tone of inflexible dignity, such as neither his situation, nor his character, could enable him to support; and a letter, signed with the name of Honorius, was immediately despatched to the pretorian

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XXXI
Continued

prefect, granting him a free permission to dispose of the public money, but sternly refusing to prostitute the military honours of Rome to the proud demands of a barbarian. This letter was imprudently communicated to Alaric himself; and the Goths, who in the whole transaction had behaved with temper and decency, expressed, in the most outrageous language, his lively sense of the insult so wantonly offered to his person, and to his nation. The conference of Rimini was hastily interrupted; and the prefect Jovius, on his return to Ravenna, was compelled to adopt, and even to encourage, the fashionable opinions of the court. By his advice and example, the principal officers of the state and army were obliged to swear, that, without listening, in *any* circumstances, to *any* conditions of peace, they would still persevere in perpetual and implacable war against the enemy of the republic. This rash engagement opposed an insuperable bar to all future negotiation. The ministers of Honorius were heard to declare, that, if they had only invoked the name of the Deity, they would consult the public safety, and trust their souls to the mercy of Heaven; but they had sworn by the sacred head of the emperor himself; they had touched, in solemn ceremony, that august seat of majesty and wisdom; and the violation of their oath would expose them to the temporal penalties of sacrilege and rebellion.

* Zosimus, l. 2, p. 207, 208, 209. This custom of standing by the body, as life, as safety, or ground, of the sovereign, was of the highest

While the emperor and his court enjoyed, with sullen pride, the security of the marshes and fortifications of Ravenna, they abandoned Rome, almost without defence, to the resentment of Alaric. Yet such was the moderation which he still preserved, or affected, that, as he moved with his army along the Flaminian way, he successively despatched the bishops of the towns of Italy to reiterate his offers of peace, and to conjure the emperor, that he would save the city and its inhabitants from hostile fire, and the sword of the barbarians.* These impending calamities were however averted, not indeed by the wisdom of Honorius, but by the prudence or humanity of the Gothic king; who employed a milder, though not less effectual, method of conquest. Instead of assaulting the capital, he successively directed his efforts against the *Port of Ostia*, one of the boldest and most stupendous works of Roman magnificence.¹ The accidents

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XXX.
The
Siege of
Rome by
the Goths.
A. D. 408.

Alaric's strategy, both in Egypt (Gibbon, *Ann.* IX.) and Syria. It was soon transferred, by history, to the Caesar and Tertullian's plan, that it was the way with which the Romans of his time offered to surrender. See *ecological Description of the Alod Maritima* in the *Order of the Augustus*, in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, *Ann.* 11, p. 308, 309.

* *Laetantius* l. vi. p. 349, 350. I have softened the expression of Alaric, who represents, in too bold & summary, on the history of Rome.

¹ See *Strabo*, in *Alod*, c. 80; *Order Augustus*, l. IX. p. 313, 314; *Reinart*, and the *first description of Internal*, *Ann.* 11, p. 314, 315. In the sixteenth century, when the ruins of this Augustus port were still visible, the antiquarians described the place, *Ann. d'Académie*, *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, *Ann.* 11, p. 314, and declared, with enthusiasm, that all the monuments of Europe would be made to extend to great a work, *Ann.* 11, p. 314, 315. *Ann. des grands Chénies de Rome*, *Ann.* 11, p. 314.

CHAP. XXVI. in which the precarious subsistence of the city was continually exposed in a winter navigation, and an open road, had suggested to the genius of the first Cæsar the useful design, which was executed under the reign of Claudius. The artificial moles, which formed the narrow entrance, advanced far into the sea, and firmly repelled the fury of the waves, while the largest vessels securely rode at anchor within three deep and capacious basins, which received the northern branch of the Tiber, about two miles from the ancient colony of Ostia.* The Roman Port insensibly swelled to the size of an imperial city, when

* The *Portus Paganus*, and *Portus Romanus*, Holmstedt, *ib.* p. 673-674, is the present harbor. The five mouths of the Tiber, were separated by six long breakers, or embayments, whose sides were such as to form a canal at low tide water. The course of Ostia was doubtless considerably beyond the left, or southern, end of the Port immediately behind the right, or northern, break of the coast; and the distance between these former moles, something more than equivalent to Caprea's leap. In the time of Augustus, the wind and mud expelled by the Tiber, had deposited the suburbs of Ostia; the progress of the new town had added, nearly to the site of the Holy Land, and probably still less than and the Port is a considerable distance from the coast. The first moles, (about 1000 ft.) was the long stone wall, between the *Favosus*, or *Levanzo*, marks the change of the river, and the ruins of the wall. Corbitt, by the present state of the quay, and *quadrantibus*, the western map of the neighbourhood, by the distance marked of Claudius, 21 IV, has taken notice of the *Portus Romanus*, in the middle of the *Canaliculus*, which contains 11,000 fathoms, (about 11,000 yards) and the large, irregular map of Augustus, in eight parts.

A long pier, the work of Claudius's building of the *Stapula*, 100 ft. long, 10 ft. wide, in at least the middle, or very, of such a Roman Pier, *Strabo*, *lib.* 5, c. 27, the port of Rome was so named, at all, which was acknowledged, as it would seem, in the sixth century, by Pope Gregory IV, during the reign of the *Scyres*. It is now too small to serve as a pier, and the basin, at present, is the harbor, who make guess of its original distance to the Roman shore. See *Excerpt. Theophrastus II. Boreas et Eurus* *Acta Romanorum*, p. 578.

The corn of Africa was deposited in spacious granaries for the use of the capital. As soon as Alaric was in possession of that important place, he summoned the city to surrender at discretion; and his demands were enforced by the positive declaration, that a refusal, or even a delay, should be instantly followed by the destruction of the magazines, on which the life of the Roman people depended. The clamours of that people, and the terror of famine, subdued the pride of the senate: they listened, without reluctance, to the proposal of placing a new emperor on the throne of the unworthy Honorius; and the suffrage of the Gothic conqueror bestowed the purple on Attalus, prefect of the city. The grateful monarch immediately acknowledged his protector as master-general of the armies of the West: Adolphus, with the rank of count of the domestics, obtained the custody of the person of Attalus; and the two hostile nations seemed to be united in the closest bands of friendship and alliance.

The gates of the city were thrown open, and the new emperor of the Romans, encompassed on every side by the Gothic arms, was conducted, in tumultuous procession, to the palace of Augustus and Trajan. After he had distributed the civil and military dignities among his favourites and followers, Attalus convened an assembly of the senate; before whom, in a formal and florid speech, he asserted his resolution of restoring the

CHAP.
XXII.
ALARIC.

Attalus is
represented
emperor by
the Gothic
and Ro-
mans.

¹ For the election of Attalus, consult Zosimus, l. vi. p. 317-320; Sozomen, l. ii. p. 8, 9; Orosius, ap. Phot. p. 120, 121; Photop. l. vii. c. 3. and Godfrey, *Historia* p. 423.

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majesty of the republic, and of uniting to the empire the provinces of Egypt and the East, which had once acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. Such extravagant promises inspired every reasonable citizen with a just contempt for the character of an unwarlike usurper; whose elevation was the deepest and most ignominious wound which the republic had yet sustained from the insolence of the barbarians. But the populace, with their usual levity, applauded the change of masters. The public discontent was favourable to the rival of Honorius; and the sectaries, oppressed by his persecuting edicts, expected some degree of countenance, or at least of toleration, from a prince, who, in his native country of Ionia, had been educated in the pagan superstition, and who had since received the sacrament of baptism from the hands of an Arian bishop.* The first days of the reign of Attalus were fair and prosperous. An officer of confidence was sent with an inconsiderable body of troops to secure the obedience of Africa; the greatest part of Italy submitted to the terror of the Gothic powers; and though the city of Bologna made a vigorous and effectual resistance, the people of Milan, dissatisfied perhaps with the absence of Honorius, accepted, with loud acclamations, the choice of the Roman senate. At the head of a formidable army, Alaric conducted his royal captive almost

* We very seldom find evidence of Zosimus for the Arian heresies, and that of Palladius only for the pagan education of Attalus. The violence of Zosimus, and the discontent which he imputes to the Arian family, are very unfavourable to the Christianity of the new emperor.

to the gates of Ravenna: and a solemn embassy of the principal ministers of Jovius, the pretorian prefect, of Valens, master of the cavalry, and infantry, of the questor Potamius, and of Julian, the first of the notaries, was introduced, with martial pomp, into the Gothic camp. In the name of their sovereign, they consented to acknowledge the lawful election of his competitor, and to divide the provinces of Italy and the West between the two emperors. Their proposals were rejected with disdain: and the refusal was aggravated by the insulting clemency of Attalus, who condescended to promise, that, if Honorius would instantly resign the purple, he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his life in the peaceful exile of some remote island. So desperate, indeed, did the situation of the son of Theodosius appear, to those who were the best acquainted with his strength and resources, that Jovius and Valens, his minister and his general, betrayed their trust, infamously deserted the sinking cause of their benefactor, and devoted their treacherous allegiance to the service of his more fortunate rival. Astonished by such examples of domestic treason, Honorius trembled at the approach of every servant, at the arrival of every messenger. He dreaded the secret ene-

* He called his clemency in vain, as to declare that he should institute Honorius before he put him into exile. But this assertion of Eusebius is destroyed by the more impartial testimony of Olympiodorus, who attributes the ingenuous promise (which was absolutely rejected by Attalus) to the business, and perhaps the treachery, of Jovius.

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XXII.

He is dis-
gusted by
Alerius.
A. D. 410.

mies, who might lurk in his capital, his palace, his bed-chamber; and some ships lay ready in the harbour of Ravenna, to transport the abdicated monarch to the dominions of his infant nephew, the emperor of the East.

But there is a providence (such at least was the opinion of the historian Procopius*) that watches over innocence and folly; and the pretensions of Honorius to its peculiar care cannot reasonably be disputed. At the moment when his despair, incapable of any wise or manly resolution, meditated a shameful flight, a respectable reinforcement of four thousand veterans unexpectedly landed in the port of Ravenna. To these valiant strangers, whose fidelity had not been corrupted by the factions of the court, he committed the walls and gates of the city; and the slumbers of the emperor were no longer disturbed by the apprehension of imminent and internal danger. The favourable intelligence which was received from Africa, suddenly changed the opinions of men, and the state of public affairs. The troops and officers, whom Attalus had sent into that province, were defeated and slain; and the active zeal of Heraclian maintained his own allegiance, and that of his people. The faithful count of Africa transmitted a large sum of money, which fixed the attachment of the imperial guards; and his vigilance, in preventing the exportation of corn and oil, introduced famine, tumult, and discontent, into the walls of Rome. The failure of the

* Procop. in bell. Vandal. l. c. c. 2.

African expedition, was the source of mutual complaint and recrimination in the party of Attalus: and the mind of his protector was immensely alienated from the interest of a prince, who wanted spirit to command, or docility to obey. The most imprudent measures were adopted, without the knowledge, or against the advice, of Alaric; and the obstinate refusal of the senate, to allow, in the embarkation, the mixture even of five hundred Goths, betrayed a suspicious and distrustful temper, which, in their situation, was neither generous nor prudent. The resentment of the Gothic king was exasperated by the malicious arts of Jovius, who had been raised to the rank of patrician, and who afterwards excused his double perfidy, by declaring, without a blush, that he had only *seemed* to abandon the service of Honorius, more effectually to ruin the cause of the usurper. In a large plain near Rimini, and in the presence of an innumerable multitude of Romans and barbarians, the wretched Attalus was publicly despoiled of the diadem and purple; and those emblems of royalty were sent by Alaric, as the pledge of peace and friendship, to the son of Theodosius. The officers who returned to their duty, were reinstated in their employments, and even the merit of a tardy repentance was graciously allowed: but the degraded emperor of

See the exact and circumstantial account of the fall of Attalus in Zosimus, l. vi. c. 20. p. 201. 202. — *Procopius* l. iii. c. 16. — *Philostorgius* l. vii. c. 12. The accounts of *Julianus* in the *Theodosian Code*, l. vi. c. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. which were published the 11th of February, and the *world* August, A.D. 415, evidently refer to this usurper.

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the Romans, desirous of life, and insensible of disgrace, implored the permission of following the Gothic camp, in the train of a haughty and envious barbarian.³

Titled king
and sack of
Rome by
the Goths,
A. D. 410,
Aug. 24.

The degradation of Attalus removed the only real obstacle to the conclusion of the peace; and Alaric advanced within three miles of Ravenna, to press the irresolution of the imperial ministers, whose insolence soon returned with the return of fortune. His indignation was kindled by the report, that a rival chieftain, that Sarus, the personal enemy of Adolphus, and the hereditary foe of the house of Balthi, had been received into the palace. At the head of three hundred followers, that fearless barbarian immediately sallied from the gates of Ravenna; surprised, and cut in pieces, a considerable body of Goths; re-entered the city in triumph; and was permitted to insult his adversary, by the voice of a herald, who publicly declared that the guilt of Alaric had for ever excluded him from the friendship and alliance of the emperor.⁴ The crime and folly of the court of Ravenna was expiated, a third time, by the calamities of Rome. The king of the Goths, who no longer dissembled his appetite for plun-

³ *In hoc, Alaricus, imperatorem, Romanum, relictis, ut dicitur, Muneribus, et ludum spectatum imperii.* Orosius, l. vii. c. 42, p. 382.

⁴ *Zosimus, l. vi. p. 384. Zosimus, l. i. c. 2. B. Philostorgius, l. vii. c. 2.* In this place the text of Zosimus is mutilated, and we have lost the remainder of his speech and his book, which ended with the sack of Rome. Cautious and partial as he is, we must take our leave of that historian with some regret.

der and revenge, appeared in arms under the walls of the capital; and the trembling senate, without any hopes of relief, prepared, by a desperate resistance, to delay the ruin of their country. But they were unable to guard against the secret conspiracy of their slaves and domestics; who, either from birth or interest, were attached to the cause of the enemy. At the hour of midnight, the Salarian gate was silently opened, and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet. Eleven hundred and sixty-three years after the foundation of Rome, the imperial city, which had subdued and civilized so considerable a part of mankind, was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia.¹

The proclamation of Alaric, when he forced his entrance into a vanquished city, discovered, however, some regard for the laws of humanity and religion. He encouraged his troops boldly to seize the rewards of valour, and to enrich themselves with the spoils of a wealthy and effeminate people; but he exhorted them, at the same time, to spare the lives of the surviving citizens, and

Respect of
the Goths
for the
Christian
religion.

¹ Adact. Alaricus, vestitus Romanis armis, triumph. Orosius, l. vii. c. 29, p. 373. He describes this great event in seven words; but he employs whole pages in celebrating the devotion of the Goths. I have extracted from an improbable story of Prætorius, the circumstance which had an air of probability. Prætorius, de Bell. Vandalic. l. i. c. 2. He supposes, that the city was surprised while the senators slept in the suburbs; but Jeron, with more authority and more reason, affirms, that it was in the night, nocte Martis circa oct. mensis aprilis anno 898, tem. i. p. 124, of Prætorius.

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to respect the churches of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, as holy and inviolable sanctuaries. Amidst the horrors of a nocturnal tumult, several of the Christian Goths displayed the fervour of a recent conversion; and some instances of their uncommon piety and moderation are related; and perhaps adorned, by the zeal of ecclesiastical writers.* While the barbarians roused through the city in quest of prey, the humble dwelling of an aged virgin, who had devoted her life to the service of the altar, was forced open by one of the powerful Goths. He immediately demanded, though in civil language, all the gold and silver in her possession; and was satiated at the readiness with which she conducted him to a splendid hoard of massy plates of the richest materials, and the most curious workmanship. The barbarian viewed with wonder and delight this valuable acquisition, till he was interrupted by a serious admonition, addressed to him in the following words,—“*These*,” said she, “are the consecrated vessels belonging to St. Peter: if you presume to touch them, the sacrilegious deed will remain on your conscience. For my part, I dare not keep what I am unable to

* Orosius lib. vii. c. 32, p. 275-276, supposes the greed of the Christian Goths, without noticing to possess that the greater part of them were high heretics. Jornandes, lib. iii. p. 622, and Valesius de Scythia, (Chron. p. 244, coll. 412, &c.) who were both attached to the Gothic creed, have reported and estimated these stripping tales according to belief. About Amulius was killed to death, and he buried was near the Forum, and not with the apostles. There was the arms of the Roman empire, two hundred years before the fall and death had been sought, and in the apostles, but in Christ.

“defend.” The Gothic captain, struck with reverential awe, despatched a messenger to inform the king of the treasure which he had discovered; and received a peremptory order from Alaric, that all the consecrated plate and ornaments should be transported, without damage or delay, to the church of the apostle. From the extremity, perhaps, of the Quirinal hill, to the distant quarter of the Vatican, a numerous detachment of Goths, marching in order of battle through the principal streets, protected, with glittering arms, the long train of their devout companions, who bore aloft, on their heads, the sacred vessels of gold and silver; and the martial shouts of the barbarians were mingled with the sound of religious psalmody. From all the adjacent houses, a crowd of Christians hastened to join this edifying procession; and a multitude of fugitives, without distinction of age, or rank, or even of sect, had the good fortune to escape to the secure and hospitable sanctuary of the Vatican. The learned work, concerning the *City of God*, was professedly composed by St. Augustin, to justify the ways of Providence in the destruction of the Roman greatness. He celebrates, with peculiar satisfaction, this memorable triumph of Christ; and insults his adversaries, by challenging them to produce some similar example, of a town taken by storm, in which the fabulous gods of antiquity had been able to protect either themselves, or their deluded votaries.*

* See Augustin, de Civitate Dei, lib. v. c. 1. 2. He particularly appeals to the examples of Troy, Tyre, and Jerusalem.

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XXXI.
Pillage and
fire of
Rome.

In the sack of Rome, some rare and extraordinary examples of barbarian virtue had been deservedly applauded. But the holy precincts of the Vatican, and the apostolic churches, could receive a very small proportion of the Roman people: many thousand warriors, more especially of the Huns, who served under the standard of Alaric, were strangers to the name, or at least to the faith, of Christ; and we may suspect, without any breach of charity or candour, that, in the hour of savage license, when every passion was inflamed, and every restraint was removed, the precepts of the gospel seldom influenced the behaviour of the Gothic Christians. The writers, the best disposed to exaggerate their clemency, had freely confessed, that a cruel slaughter was made of the Romans;¹ and that the streets of the city were filled with dead bodies, which remained without burial during the general consternation. The despair of the citizens was sometimes converted into fury; and whenever the barbarians were provoked by opposition, they extended the promiscuous massacre to the feeble, the innocent, and the helpless. The private revenge of forty thousand slaves was

¹ *Idem* (*ibid.*, i. p. 171), ad Principium has applied to the sack of Rome all the strong expressions of Virgil.—

Quis diadem effret sacris, quis fanae fanae,

Exploret, &c.

Principium (*ibid.*, i. p. 171) positively affirms that great numbers were slain by the Goths. Augustin ad Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 12, 13, ascribes Christian number for the death of those, whose bodies (*cadav. corpora*) had remained *per long. tempus* unburied. Bagnani, from the different writings of the Fathers, has drawn some light on the sack of Rome. *Annal. Eccles. A. D. 410*, N. 15, 14.

exercised without pity or remorse; and the ignominious lashes, which they had formerly received, were washed away in the blood of the guilty, or obnoxious families. The matrons and virgins of Rome were exposed to injuries more dreadful in the apprehension of chastity, than death itself; and the ecclesiastical historian has selected an example of female virtue, for the admiration of future ages.* A Roman lady, of singular beauty and orthodox faith, had excited the impatient desires of a young Goth, who, according to the sagacious remark of Sozomen, was attached to the Arian heresy. Exasperated by her obstinate resistance, he drew his sword, and, with the anger of a lover, slightly wounded her neck. The bleeding heroine still continued to brave his resentment, and to repel his love, till the ravisher desisted from his unavailing efforts, respectfully conducted her to the sanctuary of the Vatican, and gave six pieces of gold to the guards of the church, on condition that they should restore her inviolate to the arms of her husband. Such instances of courage and generosity were not extremely common. The brutal soldiers satisfied

* Sozomen. l. ix. c. 16. Augustin *de Civitate Dei*, l. i. c. 17. informs us, that some virgins so much detested their condition, as to attempt suicide, and though beautiful and spirited, to be killed, by the monks, to confirm their rash presumption. Perhaps the good bishop of Hippo was too easy in the belief, as well as too rigid in the measure, of this sort of female heroism. The society, indeed, of these evil women, who threw themselves into the Tiber, when Maximian was taken by storm, has been ascribed to the custom of water-bridehood. See Harris's *History of Constantine Augustus*, vol. 3, p. 308.

plate, and the variegated wardrobes of silk and purple, were irregularly piled in the waggons, that always followed the march of a Gothic army. The most exquisite works of art were roughly handled, or wantonly destroyed: many a statue was melted for the sake of the precious materials; and many a vase, in the division of the spoil, was shivered into fragments by the stroke of a battle-axe. The acquisition of riches served only to stimulate the avarice of the rapacious barbarians, who proceeded, by threats, by blows, and by tortures, to force from their prisoners the confession of hidden treasure.* Visible splendour and expense were alleged as the proof of a plentiful fortune: the appearance of poverty was imputed to a parsimonious disposition; and the obstinacy of some infants, who endured the most cruel torments before they would discover the secret object of their affection, was fatal to many unhappy wretches, who expired under the lash, for refusing to reveal their imaginary treasures. The cities of Rome, though the damage has been much exaggerated, received some injury from the violence of the Goths. At their entrance through the Salustiana gate, they fired the adjacent houses to guide their march, and to distract the attention of the citizens: the flames

* *Barbari, a Roman lady, equally respectable for her rank, her age, and her party, was taken to the ground, and cruelly tortured, till she confessed the hidden treasures.* *See Fredegar, lib. ii. c. lxxv. & Fredegar, lib. ii. c. lxxv. in the Del. & l. 10. The historian Cassiodorus, lib. ii. c. lxxv. gives a relation of the various methods of torturing prisoners for gold.*



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[REMARKS]

which encountered no obstacle in the disorder of the night, consumed many private and public buildings; and the ruins of the palace of Sallust* remained, in the age of Justinian, a stately monument of the Gothic conflagration.† Yet a contemporary historian has observed, that fire could scarcely consume the enormous beams of solid brass, and that the strength of man was insufficient to subvert the foundations of ancient structures. Some truth may possibly be concealed in his devout assertion, that the wrath of Heaven supplied the imperfections of hostilerage; and that the proud Forum of Rome, decorated with the statues of so many gods and heroes, was levelled in the dust by the stroke of lightning.‡

* The *Ulpian* family, who usefully practised the vice which he has so eloquently censured, employed the plunder of Numidia to adorn his palace and gardens on the Quirinal hill. The spot where the house stood, is now marked by the church of St. Susanna, separated only by a street from the ruins of Hadrian's, and not far distant from the *Severan* gate. See *Nardini, Roma Antica*, p. 192, 193; and the great Plan of Modern Rome, by Nolli.

† The expressions of *Procopius* are still less and more exact, (*de Bell. Vandali*, l. i. c. 17.) The Chronicle of *Macedonius* speaks too strongly, *partem totius Romæ consumpsit*; and the words of *Antonine*, (*de Urbis Romæ antiquitate*, l. iii. c. 16, 17) deliver a false and exaggerated idea. *Baryoni* has composed a particular dissertation, *Over den verloop van Rom's Geschied.*, to prove that the edifices of Rome were not subverted by the Goths and Vandals.

‡ *Ortius*, l. ii. c. 16, p. 133. He speaks as if he disapproved all statues; yet *Dion* and *Lucian* were exceptions. They consisted of the Kings of Asia and Rome from *Evagrius*, the *Romans*, *Illustratus* either in arms or sets, and the *Imperial Council*. The expression which he uses of *Forum* is somewhat ambiguous; does there existed the principal *Forum*; but as they were all contiguous and adjacent, in the plain which is surrounded by the *Capitoline*, the *Quirinal*, the *Esquiline*, and the *Palatine* hills, they might fairly be considered as one. See the *Roma Antiqua* of *Barthelemy*, p. 167-201, and the *Roma Antica* of *Nardini*, p. 218-220. The former is more useful for the ancient descriptions, the latter for the actual topography.

Whatever might be the numbers of equestrian, or plebeian rank, who perished in the massacre of Rome, it is confidently affirmed, that only one senator lost his life by the sword of the enemy.¹ But it was not easy to compute the multitudes, who, from an honourable station, and a prosperous fortune, were suddenly reduced to the miserable condition of captives and exiles. As the barbarians had more occasion for money than for slaves, they fixed, at a moderate price, the redemption of their indigent prisoners; and the ransom was often paid by the benevolence of their friends, or the charity of strangers.² The captives, who were regularly sold, either in open market, or by private contract, would have legally regained their native freedom, which it was impossible for a citizen to lose, or to alienate.³ But as it was soon discovered, that the vindication of their liberty would endanger their lives; and that the Goths, unless they were tempted to sell, might be provoked to murder, their useless prisoners; the civil jurisprudence had been already qualified by a wise regulation, that they should be

¹ Orosius, l. iii. c. 18. p. 142 compares the cruelty of the Goths and the clemency of the Greeks. *De viâ ignominiam in certis senatoribus, qui vel alienis veniunt; vel vel quædam regibus, qui sunt in legibus pariter.* But there is an air of rhetoric, and perhaps of falsehood, in this assertion; and Socrates (c. vii. c. 23) affirms, perhaps by an ignominious exaggeration, that many senators were put to death with various and enormous tortures.

² Muri. . . Christianus de captivitate dicitur. Augustinus, de Civ. Dei, l. x. c. 18; and St. Augustine expounded no parallel here.

³ See Hefner's, Antiquitates Juris Romani, tom. I. p. 96.

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obliged to serve the moderate term of five years, till they had discharged by their labour the price of their redemption.¹ The nations who invaded the Roman empire, had driven before them, into Italy, whole troops of hungry and affrighted provincials, less apprehensive of servitude than of famine. The calamities of Rome and Italy dispersed the inhabitants to the most lonely, the most secure, the most distant places of refuge. While the Gothic cavalry spread terror and desolation along the sea-coast of Campania and Tuscany, the little island of Igilium, separated by a narrow channel from the Argentario promontory, repulsed, or eluded, their hostile attempts; and at so small a distance from Rome, great numbers of citizens were securely contrahed in the thick woods of that sequestered spot.² The ample patrimonies, which many

¹ Appianus Civil. Traclitus, viii. in Strabonis Opera, tom. i. p. 225. This edict was published the 11th of December, A. D. 408, and is now confirmed: thus troops belonging to the masters of Huns and

² *Ecceget hanc accensum montem arborum
Quam pervicax sufficit laetitia locumque arborum
Hanc promissa regem pariter sua moenia mittit
Hinc iam Igilium, hic Demetrius agros
Gaudet vixi incolis extraque vagantibus arvis
Tumulus longinquus despectuq. aemula
Hic solus locis circumstans ab ipso montibus
Hic domus patris patrisque domus arborum
Pugnat pariter prolequeque proleque arborum
Gaudet vixi incolis extraque vagantibus arvis
Tumulus longinquus despectuq. aemula
Hic solus locis circumstans ab ipso montibus
Hic domus patris patrisque domus arborum*

Recluse in Huns, L. 4. 225.

³ The island is now called Igilium. See Geogr. Hist. Antiq. v. p. 222.

quaternion families possessed in Africa, invited them, if they had time and propensity, to escape from the ruin of their country : to enhance the shelter of that hospitable province. The most illustrious of these fugitives was the noble and pious Proba,¹ the widow of the prefect Petronius. After the death of her husband, the most powerful subject of Rome, she had remained at the head of the Anician family, and successively supplied, from her private fortune, the expence of the consulships of her three sons. When the city was besieged and taken by the Goths, Proba supported, with Christian resignation, the loss of immense riches; embarked in a small vessel, from whence she beheld, at sea, the flames of her burning palace, and fled with her daughter Lacta, and her grand-daughter, the celebrated virgin, Demetrias, to the coast of Africa. The benevolent profusion with which the matron distributed the fruits, or the price, of her estates, contributed to alleviate the misfortunes of exile and captivity. But even the family of Proba herself was not exempt from the rapacious oppression of Count Heraclian, who basely sold, in matrimonial prostitution, the noblest maidens of Rome, to the lust

¹ As the adventures of Proba and her family are preserved only in the life of St. Augustine, they are slightly illustrated by Theodoret, *Mon. Eccl. tom. viii. p. 460-462*. Seventeen years after this period in Africa, Demetrias took the veil, and made a vow of virginity; an event which was considered as of the highest importance to Rome and to the world. All the Romans were congratulatory, *tom. i. l. 1. p. 48-49*, and Demetriad, the renowned Virgin-martyr, and confessed mistress of almost constant spiritual matrimony, and various facts, some of which relate to the siege and sack of Rome.

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or avarice of the Syrian merchants. The Italian fugitives were dispersed through the provinces, along the coast of Egypt and Asia, as far as Constantinople and Jerusalem; and the village of Bethlem, the solitary residence of St. Jerom and his female converts, was crowded with illustrious beggars of either sex, and every age, who excited the public compassion by the remembrance of their past fortune.² This awful catastrophe of Rome filled the astonished empire with grief and terror. So interesting a contrast of greatness and ruin, disposed the fond credulity of the people to deplore, and even to exaggerate, the afflictions of the queen of cities. The clergy, who applied to recent events the lofty metaphors of oriental prophecy, were sometimes tempted to confound the destruction of the capital, and the dissolution of the globe.

Back of
Rome by
the tower
of Charles
V.

There exists in human nature a strong propensity to depreciate the advantages, and to magnify the evils, of the present times. Yet, when the first emotions had subsided, and a fair estimate was made of the real damage, the more learned and judicious contemporaries were forced to confess, that infant Rome had formerly received more essential injury from the Gauls, than she had now sustained from the Goths in her declining age.³ The experience of eleven centuries

² See the pathetic complaint of Jerom, *comp.* v. p. 400, in his preface to the second book of his *Commentaries on the prophet Ezekiel*.

³ Orosius, though with some theological partiality, states the comparison, *l. 7, c. 19, p. 142; l. 5, c. 29, p. 272*. But, in the history

has enabled posterity to produce a much more singular parallel; and to affirm with confidence, that the ravages of the barbarians, whom Alaric had led from the banks of the Danube, were less destructive, than the hostilities exercised by the troops of Charles V., a catholic prince, who styled himself Emperor of the Romans.* The Goths evacuated the city at the end of six days, but Rome remained above nine months in the possession of the imperialists; and every hour was stained by some atrocious act of cruelty, lust, and rapine. The authority of Alaric preserved some order and moderation among the ferocious multitude, which acknowledged him for their leader and king: but the constable of Bourbon had gloriously fallen in the attack of the walls; and the death of the general removed every restraint of discipline, from an army which consisted of three independent nations, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Germans. In the begin-

of the taking of Rome by the Goths, every thing is uncertain, and perhaps fabulous. See Broussier and l'Honneste, *Mem. de l'Histoire Romaine*, p. 426; and Meurt, in the *Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. xv. p. 1-21.

§ The reader who wishes to inform himself of the circumstances of this famous event, may peruse an admirable narration in the *Recherches* of History of Charles VI. vol. II. p. 284; or consult also Arnall's *History of the Emperor Maximilian*, tom. xii. p. 240-248, entire chapter. If he is desirous of examining the original, he may have recourse to the eighth and book of the great, but unfinished, history of Guicciardini. But the account which most fully describes the scene of this terrific and original, is a little book, entitled *Il Diario di Roma*, composed, within less than a month after the assault of the city, by the brother of the Italian Guicciardini, who appears to have been an able magistrate, and a dispassionate writer.

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ning of the sixteenth century, the manners of Italy exhibited a remarkable scene of the depravity of mankind. They united the sanguinary crimes that prevail in an unjust state of society; with the polished vices that spring from the abuse of art and luxury; and the loose adventurers, who had violated every prejudice of patriotism and superstition to assault the palace of the Roman pontiff, must deserve to be considered as the most profligate of the *Italians*. At the same era, the *Spaniards* were the terror both of the Old and New World: but their high-spirited valour was disgraced by gloomy pride, rapacious avarice, and unrelenting cruelty. Indefatigable in the pursuit of time and riches, they had improved, by repeated practice, the most exquisite and effectual methods of torturing their prisoners; many of the *Castilians*, who pillaged Rome, were familiars of the holy inquisition; and some volunteers, perhaps, were lately returned from the conquest of Mexico. The *Germans* were less corrupt than the *Italians*, less cruel than the *Spaniards*; and the rustic, or even savage, aspect of those *Teutonic* warriors, often disguised a simple and merciful disposition. But they had imbibed, in the first fervour of the reformation, the spirit, as well as the principles, of Luther. It was their favourite amusement to insult, or destroy, the consecrated objects of catholic superstition: they indulged, without pity or remorse, a desultory hatred against the clergy of every denomination and degree, who form so considerable

a part of the inhabitants of modern Rome; and their fanatical zeal might aspire to subvert the throne of Antichrist, to purify, with blood and fire, the abominations of the spiritual Babylon.²

The retreat of the victorious Goths, who evacuated Rome on the sixth day,* might be the result of prudence; but it was not surely the effect of fear.† At the head of an army, encumbered with rich and weighty spoils, their intrepid leader advanced along the Appian way into the southern provinces of Italy, destroying whatever dared to oppose his passage, and contenting himself with the plunder of the unresisting country. The fate of Capua, the proud and luxurious metropolis of Campania, and which was respected, even in its decay, as the eighth city of the empire,‡ is buried in oblivion; whilst the adjacent town of Noli§ has been illustrated, on this occasion, by

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Alaric evacuated Rome, and invaded Italy, A. D. 410, Aug. 24.

* The famous speech of Alaric, the effect of temper and restraint, has been severely attacked. (Boswell, *Disc. des Vertus des Goths*, Protestantes, *Disc. li.* p. 30-39) and fairly defended. (Cochet, *Comment. de L'empereur*, *supra* li. i, N. 78, p. 123, and li. ii, N. 128, p. 228.)

† Macmillan, in *Class. Greece*, li. vii. c. 35, p. 376, asserts, that the Goth Rains on the third day; but this difference is easily reconciled by the successive motions of great bodies of troops.

‡ Boswell (*li. vii. c. 35*) performs, without any colour of truth, or justice, that Alaric did on the report, that the senate of the eastern empire were in full march to meet him.

§ *Annales de Charle. le Grand*, p. 228, edit. Fall. The history of Capua was formerly supposed that of Agathia Angel. (the Abbess of Dispersed) *li. i. c. 25*, p. 148, edit. Casanovi.

¶ Forty-eight years before the Foundation of Rome, about 800 before the Christian era, the Trojans built Capua and Noli, at the distance of twenty-three miles from each other; and the latter of the two Cities were emerged from a mass of mud.

CHAP. the sanctity of Paulinus,² who was successively
 XXXI. a consul, a monk, and a bishop. At the age of
 forty, he renounced the enjoyment of wealth and
 honour, of society and literature, to embrace a
 life of solitude and penance; and the loud ap-
 plause of the clergy encouraged him to despise the
 reproaches of his worldly friends, who ascribed
 this desperate act to some disorder of the mind or
 body.³ An early and passionate attachment
 determined him to fix his humble dwelling in one
 of the suburbs of Nola, near the miraculous tomb
 of St. Felix, which the public devotion had al-
 ready surrounded with five large and populous
 churches. The remains of his fortune, and of his
 understanding, were dedicated to the service of
 the glorious martyr; whose praise, on the day of
 his festival, Paulinus never failed to celebrate by
 a solemn hymn; and in whose name he erected a
 sixth church, of superior elegance and beauty,
 from the History of the old and New Testament.
 Such assiduous zeal secured the favour of the
 saint,⁴ or at least of the people; and, after

² Tillemont (*Mem. Eccles. rom.* xiv. p. 1-146) has compiled, with his usual diligence, all that relates to the life and writings of Paulinus, whose name is celebrated by his own poet, and by the pen of St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Solignac, *Scythicus*, &c. for Christian Artists and Connoisseurs.

³ See the affectionate letters of Ambrose (*op. cit.* vii. xiv. p. 445-452, edit. Taltet) to his religious, his friend, and his disciple, Paulinus. The origin of Ambrose is still a problem, (see Memo. in *Encyclopæd. des Sciences*, tom. vii. p. 125-128.) I believe that it was such in his own time, and, consequently, that in his heart he was a pagan.

⁴ The humble Paulinus once presumed to say, that he believed St. Felix did love him; at least, as a master loves his little dog.

fifteen years retirement, the Roman consul was compelled to accept the bishopric of Nola, a few months before the city was invested by the Goths. During the siege, some religious persons were satisfied that they had seen, either in dreams or visions, the divine form of their tutelar patron; yet it soon appeared by the event, that Felix wanted power, or inclination, to preserve the flock, of which he had formerly been the shepherd. Nola was not saved from the general devastation;² and the captive bishop was protected only by the general opinion of his innocence and poverty. Above four years elapsed from the successful invasion of Italy by the arms of Alaric, to the voluntary retreat of the Goths under the conduct of his successor Adolphus; and, during the whole time, they reigned without control over a country, which, in the opinion of the ancients, had united all the various excellencies of nature and art. The prosperity, indeed, which Italy had attained in the auspicious age of the Antonines, had gradually declined with the decline of the empire. The fruits of a long peace perished under the rude grasp of the barbarians; and they themselves were incapable of tasting the more elegant refinements of luxury, which had been prepared for the use of the soft and polished Italians. Each soldier, however, claimed an ample portion of the substantial plenty,

Possession
of Italy by
the Goths,
A. D. 409-
418.

¹ See *Strabon*, de Bell. Ger. p. 30, p. 407. *Philostorgius*, l. i. c. 10. *Agapetus*, de Civ. Dei, l. ii. c. 10. *Barbarus*, *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 410, N^o. 44, 45.

l. 1187.
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the corn and cattle, oil and wine, that was daily collected, and consumed, in the Gothic camp; and the principal warriors insulted the villas, and gardens, once inhabited by Lucullus and Cicero, along the beautiful coast of Campania. Their trembling captives, the sons and daughters of Roman senators, presented, in goblets of gold and gems, large draughts of Falernian wine, to the haughty victors; who stretched their huge limbs under the shade of plane-trees,* artificially disposed to exclude the scorching rays, and to admit the genial warmth, of the sun. These delights were enhanced by the memory of past hardships: the comparison of their native soil, the bleak, and barren hills of Scythia, and the frozen banks of the Elbe, and Danube, added new charms to the felicity of the Italian climate.^b

* The plane-tree, or plane-tree, was a favourite of the ancients, in whom it was propagated, for the sake of shade, from the East to Gaul. Pliny, Hist. Natur. xii. l. 4, 5. He mentions several of his vineyards near Rome in the imperial time at Volturno, which Calpurnius used to call, as his benefactor was capable of holding a large table, the grape archedway, and the emperor himself, when dining quietly at his pavilion, an extensive sheet spread, with equal ease, he applied to shade.

^b The poetess says, in the ditty, yet yields
Her bosom still, and her golden belly,
With green delight the harvest of white dew
A beauteous day, and soils of happy hue;
Scant the dew from fragrant of the opening rose,
And quell the purple vintage as it grows.

See Gray's Poems published by Mr. Mason, p. 187. Instead of collecting tables of chronology and natural history, why did not Mr. Gray copy the verses of his garden to finish the philosophical poem, of which he has left such an exquisite specimen?

Whether fame, or conquest, or riches, were the object of Alaric, he pursued that object with an indefatigable labour, which could neither be quelled by adversity, nor satisfied by success. No sooner had he reached the extreme land of Italy, than he was attracted by the neighbouring prospect of a fertile and peaceful island. Yet even the possession of Sicily he considered only as an intermediate step to the important expedition, which he already meditated against the continent of Africa. The straits of Rhegium and Messina* are twelve miles in length, and, in the narrowest passage, about one mile and a half broad; and the fabulous monsters of the deep, the rocks of Scylla, and the whirlpool of Charybdis, could terrify none but the most timid and unskilful mariners. Yet as soon as the first division of the Goths had embarked, a sudden tempest arose, which sunk, or scattered, many of the transports; their courage was daunted by the terrors of a new element; and the whole design was defeated by the premature death of Alaric, which fixed, after a short illness, the fatal term of his conquests. The ferocious character of the barbarians was displayed, in the funeral of a hero, whose valour, and fortune, they celebrated with mournful applause. By the labour of a captive multitude, they forcibly diverted the

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Book, 48

Alaric,

A. D. 410.

* For the perfect description of the Straits of Messina, Scylla, Charybdis, see Cuvier's, (Hist. Nat., t. IV, p. 1272, and *Nelle Antich. t. 4, p. 405, 416*, who has diligently studied the rocks, and surveyed with a barometer the actual form of the country.

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course of the Busentino; a small river that washes the walls of Consentia. The royal sepulchre, adorned with the splendid spoils, and trophies, of Rome, was constructed in the vacant bed; the waters were then restored to their natural channel; and the secret spot, where the remains of Alaric had been deposited, was for ever concealed by the inhuman massacre of the prisoners, who had been employed to execute the work.*

Adolphus, king of the Goths, concludes a peace with the empire, and marches into Gaul.
A. D. 412.

The personal animosities, and hereditary feuds, of the barbarians, were suspended by the strong necessity of their affairs; and the brave Adolphus, the brother-in-law of the deceased monarch, was unanimously elected to succeed to his throne. The character and political system of the new king of the Goths, may be best understood from his own conversation with an illustrious citizen of Narbonne; who afterwards, in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, related it to St. Jerom, in the presence of the historian Orosius. "In the full confidence of valour and victory, I once aspired (said Adolphus) to change the face of the universe; to obliterate the name of Rome; to erect on its ruins the dominion of the Goths; and to acquire, like Augustus, the immortal name of the founder of a new empire. By repeated experiments, I was gradually convinced, that laws are essentially necessary to maintain and regulate a well-constituted state; and that the fierce untractable humour of the Goths was incapable of bearing the salutary yoke of

* Jordanes, de Bell. Get. c. 30, p. 644.

" laws, and civil government. From that mo-
 " ment I proposed to myself a different object of
 " glory and ambition: and it is now my sincere
 " wish, that the gratitude of future ages should
 " acknowledge the merit of a stranger, who em-
 " ployed the sword of the Goths, not to subvert,
 " but to restore and maintain, the prosperity of
 " the Roman empire." With these pacific
 views, the successor of Alaric suspended the oper-
 ations of war; and seriously negotiated with the
 imperial court a treaty of friendship and alliance.
 It was the interest of the ministers of Honorius,
 who were now released from the obligation of
 their extravagant oath, to deliver Italy from the
 intolerable weight of the Gothic powers: and
 they readily accepted their service against the
 tyrants and barbarians who infested the pro-
 vinces beyond the Alps.* Adolphus, assuming
 the character of a Roman general, directed his
 march from the extremity of Campania to the
 southern provinces of Gaul. His troops, either
 by force or agreement, immediately occupied the
 cities of Narbonne, Thoulouse, and Bourdeaux;
 and though they were repulsed by Count Boni-
 face from the walls of Marseilles, they soon ex-

* Orosius, l. vii. c. 32. p. 244, 245. He was sent by St. Augustine,
 in the year 412, from Africa to Palestine, to visit St. Jerome, and to
 consult with him on the subject of the Pelagian controversy.

* Jornandes supposes, without much probability, that Adolphus
 entered and plundered Rome a second time, (more constantly cruel).
 Yet he agrees with Orosius in supposing, that a treaty of peace was
 concluded between the Gothic prince and Honorius. See Oros. l. vii.
 c. 43. p. 244, 245. Jornandes, de Rebus Gothicis, c. 21. p. 254, 255.

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doubled their quarters from the Mediterranean to the Ocean. The oppressed provincials might exclaim, that the miserable remnant, which the enemy had spared, was cruelly ravished by their pretended allies; yet some specious colours were not wanting to palliate, or justify, the violence of the Goths. The cities of Gaul, which they attacked, might perhaps be considered as in a state of rebellion against the government of Honorius; the articles of the treaty, or the secret instructions of the court, might sometimes be alleged in favour of the seeming usurpations of Adolphus; and the guilt of any irregular, unsuccessful, act of hostility, might always be imputed, with an appearance of truth, to the ungovernable spirit of a barbarian host, impatient of peace or discipline. The luxury of Italy had been less effectual to soften the temper, than to relax the courage, of the Goths; and they had imbibed the vices, without imitating the arts and institutions, of civilized society.¹

His mother
age with
Flaccia,
A. D. 414.

The professions of Adolphus were probably sincere, and his attachment to the cause of the republic was secured by the ascendancy which a Roman princess had acquired over the heart and understanding of the barbarian king. Flaccia,²

¹ The names of the Goths and Huns, and their first settlements in Gaul, are dark and doubtful. I have derived much assistance from M. de H. Hist. of the ancient Germans, 4. vol. p. 22, 23, 24, 25, who has discovered, and ascribed to the Goths, the earliest mention of any people in the north of the Rhine.

² See an account of Flaccia in Theophrast. Pan. Byzant. p. 111 and Valentin. Hist. des Empereurs, tom. 8. p. 203, 204, &c. tom. 9. p. 216.

the daughter of the great Theodosius; and of Galla, his second wife, had received a royal education in the palace of Constantinople; but the eventful story of her life is connected with the revolutions which agitated the western empire under the reign of her brother Honorius. When Rome was first invested by the arms of Alaric, Placidia, who was then about twenty years of age, resided in the city; and her ready consent to the death of her cousin Serena has a cruel and ungrateful appearance, which, according to the circumstances of the action, may be aggravated, or excused, by the consideration of her tender age. The victorious barbarians detained, either as a hostage or a captive, the sister of Honorius; but, while she was exposed to the disgrace of following round Italy the motions of a Gothic camp, she experienced, however, a decent and respectful treatment. The authority of Jornandes, who praises the beauty of Placidia, may perhaps be counterbalanced by the silence, the expressive silence, of her flatterers; yet the splendour of her birth, the bloom of youth, the elegance of manners, and the dexterous insinuation which she condescended to employ, made a deep impression on the mind of Adolphus; and the Gothic king aspired to call himself the brother of the emperor. The ministers of Honorius rejected with disdain the proposal of an alliance, so injurious to every sen-

¹ Zosim. l. x. p. 253.

² Zosim. l. vi. p. 363. Orosius, li. vi. s. 40, p. 217, and the Chronicle of Maximian and Eusebius, seem to suppose, that the Goths did not carry away Placidia till after the sack of Rome.

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trient of Roman pride; and repeatedly urged the restitution of Placidia, as an indispensable condition of the treaty of peace. But the daughter of Theodosius submitted, without reluctance, to the desires of the conqueror, a young and valiant prince, who yielded to Alaric in loftiness of stature, but who excelled in the more attractive qualities of grace and beauty. The marriage of Adolphus and Placidia* was consummated before the Goths retired from Italy; and the solemn, perhaps the anniversary, day of their nuptials was afterwards celebrated in the house of Ingenuus, one of the most illustrious citizens of Narbonne in Gaul. The bride, attired and adorned like a Roman empress, was placed on a throne of state; and the king of the Goths, who assumed, on this occasion, the Roman habit, contented himself with a less honourable seat by her side. The nuptial gift, which, according to the custom of his nation,² was offered to Placidia, consisted of the rare and magnificent spoils

* See the picture of Adolphus and Placidia, and the account of their marriage in Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 31, p. 234, 235. With regard to the place where the nuptials were celebrated, as communicated, or related, the MSS. of Jornandes vary between two neighbouring cities. Part say Imola, (Pisum Lani and Forum Cassellum.) It is true and easy to reconcile the Gothic histories with Olympiodorus, (see Maitland, i. 234, c. 46); but Tillamont goes further, and asserts, that it is not worth while to try to reconcile Jornandes with any good author.

² The Visigoths (the subjects of Adolphus) received, by subsequent laws, the privilege of conjugal love. It was illegal for a husband to make any gift or settlement for the benefit of his wife during the first year of their marriage; and the law itself would not in any circumstances the tenth part of his property. The Lombards were somewhat more indulgent: they allowed the marriage-group immediately after

of her country. Fifty beautiful youths, in silken robes, carried a basin in each hand; and one of these basins was filled with pieces of gold, the other with precious stones of an inestimable value. Attilius, so long the sport of fortune, and of the Goths, was appointed to lead the chorus of the Hymeneal song: and the degraded emperor might aspire to the praise of a skilful musician. The barbarians enjoyed the insolence of their triumph; and the provincials rejoiced in this alliance, which tempered, by the mild influence of love and reason, the fierce spirit of their Gothic lord.*

The hundred basins of gold and gems, presented to Placidia at her nuptial feast, formed an inconsiderable portion of the Gothic treasures; of which some extraordinary specimens may be selected from the history of the successors of Adolphus. Many curious and costly ornaments of pure gold, enriched with jewels, were found in their palace of Narbonne, when it was pillaged, in the sixth century, by the Franks: sixty cups, or chalices; fifteen *patens*, or plates, for the use of the communion; twenty boxes, or cases, to hold the books of the gospels; this consecrated

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The Gothic

treasures.

cherish's wedding night; and this famous gold, the reward of virginity, might equal the finest part of the husband's substance. Some early history writers, indeed, were wise enough to stipulate beforehand a present, which they were no less of not deserting. See *Memorials*, Egypt. des Sarr. t. i. p. 85. *Marmori delle Aniched Italiane*, tom. 4. Description de p. 242.

* We see the curious detail of this nuptial feast in the *Historia Olympiodorus*, ap. *Photius*, p. 185, 186.

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wealth¹ was distributed by the son of Clovis among the churches of his dominions, and his pious liberality seems to upbraid some former sacrilege of the Goths. They possessed, with more security of conscience, the famous *mirorium*, or great dish, for the service of the table, of massy gold, of the weight of five hundred pounds, and of far superior value, from the precious stones, the exquisite workmanship, and the tradition that it had been presented by Etius the patrician, to Torismond king of the Goths. One of the successors of Torismond purchased the aid of the French monarch by the promise of this magnificent gift. When he was seated on the throne of Spain, he delivered it with reluctance to the ambassadors of Dagobert: despoiled them on the road; stipulated, after a long negotiation, the inadequate ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold; and preserved the *mirorium*, as the pride of the Gothic treasury.² When that treasury, after the conquest of Spain, was plundered by the Arabs, they admired, and they

¹ See in the great collection of the Histories of France by Dom Bouquet, tom. iv. *Græg. Turcoman. l. vi. c. 16.* p. 102. *Græg. Sigism. l. vi. c. 12.* p. 227. The latter writer writes with all the modesty of his times, supposes that those historians of the Goths & Visigoths had belonged to the temple of Solomon. If he has any meaning, it must be, that they were dumb in the work of Rome.

² Consult the following original testimonies in the *Histories of France*, tom. ii. *Fredegath. l. x. c. 12.* p. 144. *Fredegath. l. x. c. 12.* p. 144. *Græg. Turcoman. l. vi. c. 16.* p. 102. The accession of Suintila, to the throne of Spain, happened 4. 11. 627. The 200,000 pieces of gold were appropriated by Dagobert to the foundation of the church of St. Denis.

have celebrated, another object still more remarkable; a table of considerable size, of one single piece of solid emerald,* encircled with three rows of fine pearls, supported by three hundred and sixty-five feet of gems and massy gold, and estimated at the price of five hundred thousand pieces of gold.^b Some portion of the Gothic treasures might be the gift of friendship, or the tribute of obedience; but the far greater part had been the fruits of war and rapine, the spoils^c of the empire, and perhaps of Rome.

After the deliverance of Italy from the oppression of the Goths, some secret counsellor was permitted, amidst the factions of the palace, to heal the wounds of that afflicted country.^d By a wise and humane regulation, the eight provinces which had been the most deeply injured, Campania, Tuscany, Picenum, Samnium, Apulia, Calabria, Brutium, and Lucania, obtained an

Law for
the relief
of Italy
and Rome.
A. D. 410.
417.

* The president Gagnat (*Origine des Lois*, &c. tom. 3. p. 229) is of opinion, that the stupendous pieces of emerald, the statues, and columns, which antiquity has placed in Egypt, at Gades, at Constantinople, were in really artificial compositions of coloured glass. The famous emerald dial, which is shown at Genoa, is supposed to corroborate the supposition.

^b Simoniid Hist. Sacrament, l. 4. p. 86. Rodolp. Tabet. Hist. Arab. p. 4. Cardonne. Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous les Arabes, tom. 1. p. 83. It was called the table of Solomon, according to the custom of the orientals, who ascribe to that prince every ancient work of knowledge or magnificence.

^c The three laws are inserted in the Theodosian Code, l. 1. tit. 10. leg. 7. l. 2. tit. 11. tit. 12. leg. 12. l. 2. tit. 20. leg. 14. The expressions of the last are very remarkable; since they contain not ten or a dozen, but an equal 57.

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indulgence of five years: the ordinary tribute was reduced to one-fifth, and even that fifth was destined to restore, and support, the useful institution of the public posts. By another law, the lands, which had been left without inhabitants or cultivation, were granted, with some diminution of taxes, to the neighbours who should occupy, or the strangers who should solicit them: and the new possessors were secured against the future claims of the fugitive proprietors. About the same time a general amnesty was published in the name of Honorius, to abolish the guilt and memory of all the *involuntary* offences, which had been committed by his unhappy subjects, during the term of the public disorder and calamity. A decent and respectful attention was paid to the restoration of the capital: the citizens were encouraged to rebuild the edifices which had been destroyed or damaged by hostile fire; and extraordinary supplies of corn were imported from the coast of Africa. The crowds that so lately fled before the sword of the barbarians, were soon recalled by the hopes of plenty and pleasure; and Albinus, prefect of Rome, informed the court, with some anxiety and surprise, that, in a single day, he had taken an account of the arrival of fourteen thousand strangers.* In less than seven years,

* Olympiodorus *op. Phil.* p. 188. Palladius (Hist. G. xv, c. 3) observes, that when Honorius made his triumphant entry, he encouraged the Romans, with his hand and voice (*gratu suo placens*), to rebuild their city: and the Chronicle of Prosper mentions, *Honorius, qui in Romanam adita reparationem strenuam exhibuit ministerium*.

the vestiges of the Gothic invasion were almost obliterated; and the city appeared to resume its former splendour and tranquillity. The venerable matron replaced her crown of laurel, which had been ruffled by the storms of war: and was still amused, in the last moment of her decay, with the prophecies of revenge, of victory, and of eternal dominion.*

This apparent tranquillity was soon disturbed by the approach of an hostile armament from the country which afforded the daily subsistence of the Roman people. Heraclian, count of Africa, who, under the most difficult and distressful circumstances, had supported, with active loyalty, the cause of Honorius, was tempted, in the year of his consulship, to assume the character of a rebel, and the title of emperor. The ports of Africa were immediately filled with the naval forces, at the head of which he prepared to invade Italy: and his fleet, when it cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber, indeed surpassed the fleets of Xerxes and Alexander, if all the vessels, including the royal galley, and the smallest boat, did actually amount to the incredible number of three thou-

Revolt and
defeat of
Heraclian,
count of
Africa,
A. D. 412.

* The date of the siege of Christiana Justina Constantina, is assigned with some difficulty; but Bentley has deduced from astronomical characters, that he left Rome the 21st of September, and embarked at Porto the 5th of October, A. D. 416. See Tillamont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. 7, p. 456. In this poetical history, Justina (l. 1, 111. Arc.) addresses Rome in a high strain of congratulation.—

Ecce triumphus laurus, saeculorumq; salutem.

Veneris in vinctis Roma regibus omnes, &c.

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said two hundred.* Yet with such an armament, which might have subverted, or restored, the greatest empire of the earth, the African usurper made a very faint and feeble impression on the provinces of his rival. As he marched from the port, along the road which leads to the gates of Rome, he was encountered, terrified, and routed, by one of the imperial captains; and the head of this mighty host, deserting his fortune and his friends, ignominiously fled with a single ship.† When Heraclian landed in the harbour of Carthage, he found that the whole province, disdainful of such an unworthy ruler, had returned to their allegiance. The rebel was beheaded in the ancient temple of Memory; his consularship was abolished;‡ and the remains of his private fortune, not exceeding the moderate sum of four thousand pounds of gold, were granted to the brave Constantius, who had already defended the throne, which he afterwards shared with his feeble sovereign. Honorius viewed, with supine indifference, the calamities of Rome

* Orosius computed his history in Africa only 140 years after the events I yet his authority seems to be overrated by the historians of the West. The Chronicle of Marcellinus gives Heraclian 200 ships and 20000 men; the latter of these numbers is extremely improbable; but the former would place me very much.

† The Chronicle of Marcellinus, without the least appearance of truth, that he attacked at the ex Metropolitani in Sicily, where he was overthrown in a great battle, with the loss of 80000 Roman men.

‡ Cod. Theod. l. x. c. 14. § 15. The legal acts published in his name, even the promulgation of edicts, were destined to be his; all they had been formally repeated.

and Italy;¹ but the rebellious attempts of At-
talus and Heraclian, against his personal safety,
awakened, for a moment, the torpid instinct of
his nature. He was probably ignorant of the
causes and events which preserved him from these
impending dangers; and as Italy was no longer
invaded by any foreign or domestic enemies, he
peaceably existed in the palace of Ravenna, while
the tyrants beyond the Alps were repeatedly van-
quished in the name, and by the lieutenants, of
the son of Theodosius.* In the course of a
busy and interesting narrative, I might possibly
forget to mention the death of such a prince:
and I shall therefore take the precaution of ob-
serving, in this place, that he survived the last
siege of Rome about thirteen years.

The usurpation of Constantine, who received
the purple from the legions of Britain, had been
successful; and seemed to be secure. His title
was acknowledged, from the wall of Antoninus
to the columns of Hercules; and, in the midst
of the public disorder, he shared the dominion.

Revolu-
tion of
Gaul and
Spain,
A. D. 409.
413.

¹ I have mistaken in reading Xviii. folio, and possibly a folio
error, (Proper. de Bell. Vandal. l. v. c. 74. that Honorius was charmed
by the face of Rome, till he understood that it was not a beautiful
child, or of that name, but only the capital of the world, which had
been lost. Yet even this story is a new instance of the public opinion.

* The materials for the lives of all these tyrants are taken from
six contemporary historians, two Latin, and four Greek. Zosimus,
l. vi. c. 47. p. 281, 282, 651; (Hennel Professorus Prætorius, apud
Gros. Thes. l. ii. c. 8. in the edition of Voss, book 2, p. 165,
169; Zosimus, l. vi. p. 299, 311; Orosius, and Prosper, p. 160,
161, 164, 165; Sozomen, l. vi. c. 22, 23, 24, 25; and Philostorgius,
l. vi. c. 8, 8, with Godefroy's Dissertation, p. 447-461; besides the
best Chronicle of Prosper Tyri, Periclit. of Aquilata, Isidore, and
Marcellinus.

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and the plunder, of Gaul and Spain, with the tribes of barbarians, whose destructive progress was no longer checked by the Rhine or Pyrenees. Stained with the blood of the kinsmen of Honorius, he extorted, from the court of Ravenna, with which he secretly corresponded, the ratification of his rebellious claims. Constantine engaged himself, by a solemn promise, to deliver Italy from the Goths; advanced as far as the banks of the Po; and after alarming, rather than assisting, his pusillanimous ally, hastily returned to the palace of Arles, to celebrate, with intemperate luxury, his vain and ostentatious triumph. But this transient prosperity was soon interrupted and destroyed by the revolt of Count Gerontius, the bravest of his generals; who, during the absence of his son Constans, a prince already invested with the imperial purple, had been left to command in the provinces of Spain. For some reason, of which we are ignorant, Gerontius, instead of assuming the diadem, placed it on the head of his friend Maximus, who fixed his residence at Tarragona, while the active count pressed forwards, through the Pyrenees, to surprise the two emperors, Constantine and Constans, before they could prepare for their defence. The son was made prisoner at Vienna, and immediately put to death; and the unfortunate youth had scarcely leisure to deplore the elevation of his family; which had tempted, or compelled, him sacrilegiously to desert the peaceful obscurity of the monastic life. The father maintained a

siege within the walls of Arles; but those walls must have yielded to the assailants, had not the city been unexpectedly relieved by the approach of an Italian army. The name of Honorius, the proclamation of a lawful emperor, astonished the contending parties of the rebels. Gerontius, abandoned by his own troops, escaped to the crannies of Spain; and rescued his name from oblivion, by the Roman courage which appeared to animate the last moments of his life. In the middle of the night, a great body of his perfidious soldiers surrounded, and attacked, his house, which he had strongly barricaded. His wife, a valiant friend of the nation of the Alani, and some faithful slaves, were still attached to his person; and he used, with so much skill and resolution, a large magazine of darts and arrows, that above three hundred of the assailants lost their lives in the attempt. His slaves, when all the missile weapons were spent, fled at the dawn of day; and Gerontius, if he had not been restrained by conjugal tenderness, might have imitated their example; till the soldiers, provoked by such obstinate resistance, applied fire on all sides to the house. In this fatal extremity, he complied with the request of his barbarian friend, and cut off his head. The wife of Gerontius, who conjured him not to abandon her to a life of misery and disgrace, eagerly presented her neck to his sword; and the tragic scene was terminated by the death of the count himself, who, after three ineffectual strokes, drew a short dagger, and sheathed it in

CHAP. his heart.* The unprotected Maximus, whom
 XXXI. he had invested with the purple, was indebted
 for his life to the contempt that was entertained
 of his power and abilities. The caprice of the
 barbarians, who ravaged Spain, once more seated
 this imperial phantom on the throne: but they
 soon resigned him to the justice of Honorius; and
 the tyrant Maximus, after he had been shown to
 the people of Ravenna and Rome, was publicly
 executed.

Character
 and victo-
 ries of the
 general
 Constant-
 inus.

The general, Constantius was his name, who
 raised by his approach the siege of Arles, and
 dissipated the troops of Gerontius, was born
 a Roman: and this remarkable distinction is
 strongly expressive of the decay of military spirit
 among the subjects of the empire. The strength
 and majesty which were conspicuous in the per-
 son of that general,* marked him in the popu-
 lar opinion, as a candidate worthy of the throne,
 which he afterwards ascended. In the familiar
 intercourse of private life, his manners were
 cheerful and engaging: nor would he sometimes
 disdain, in the license of convivial mirth, to vie

* The praises which Solimen has bestowed on this art of despatch,
 appear strange and scandalous in the mouth of an uneducated he-
 roic. He observes, (p. 373), that the wife of Gerontius was a
Christian; and that her death was worthy of her religion, and of im-
 mortal fame.

* *Εὐδοκία ἡ γενναία*, is the expression of the epithet, which he
 seems to have borrowed from *Æneas*, a tragedy of Euripides, of which
 some fragments only are now extant. (Eurypid. *Æneas*, tom. ii. p.
 440, vers. 418). This allusion may prove, that the ancient tragic poets
 were still familiar to the Greeks of the fifth century.

with the pantomimes themselves, in the exercises of their ridiculous profession. But when the trumpet summoned him to arms; when he mounted his horse, and, bending down (for such was his singular practice) almost upon the neck, fiercely rolled his large animated eyes round the field, Constantine then struck terror into his foes, and inspired his soldiers with the assurance of victory. He had received from the court of Ravenna the important commission of extirpating rebellion in the provinces of the West; and the pretended emperor, Constantine, after enjoying a short and inxious respite, was again besieged in his capital by the arms of a more formidable enemy. Yet this interval allowed time for a successful negotiation with the Franks and Alemanni; and his ambassador, Eulobie, soon returned, at the head of an army, to disturb the operations of the siege of Arles. The Roman general, instead of expecting the attack in his lines, boldly, and perhaps wisely, resolved to pass the Rhine, and to meet the barbarians. His measures were conducted with so much skill and secrecy, that, while they engaged the infantry of Constantine in the front, they were suddenly attacked, surrounded, and destroyed by the cavalry of his lieutenant Ulphilas, who had silently gained an advantageous post in their rear. The remains of the army of Eulobie were preserved by flight or submission, and their leaders escaped from the field of battle to the house of a faithless friend; who too clearly understood, that the head

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*Death of
the usurper
Constantine
Nov. A. D.
311, Nov.
25.*

*Fall of the
usurper
Julian,
Emperor,
and Atta-
lus, A. D.
311-315.*

of his obnoxious guest would be an acceptable and lucrative present to the imperial general. On this occasion, Constantius behaved with the magnanimity of a genuine Roman. Subduing, or suppressing, every sentiment of jealousy, he publicly acknowledged the merit and services of Ulpianus; but he turned with horror from the assassin of Edmiz and sternly intimated his commands, that the camp should no longer be polluted by the presence of an ungrateful wretch, who had violated the laws of friendship and hospitality. The usurper, who beheld, from the walls of Arles, the ruin of his last hopes, was tempted to place some confidence in so generous a conqueror. He required a solemn promise for his security; and after receiving, by the imposition of hands, the sacred character of a Christian presbyter, he ventured to open the gates of the city. But he soon experienced, that the principles of honour and integrity, which might regulate the ordinary conduct of Constantius, were superseded by the loose doctrines of political morality. The Roman general, indeed, refused to sully his laurels with the blood of Constantine; but the abdicated emperor, and his son Julian, were sent under a strong guard into Italy; and before they reached the palace of Ravenna, they met the ministers of death.

At a time when it was universally confessed, that almost every man in the empire was superior in personal merit to the princes whom the accident of their birth had seated on the throne; a

rapid succession of usurpers, regardless of the fate of their predecessors, still continued to arise. This mischief was peculiarly felt in the provinces of Spain and Gaul, where the principles of order and obedience had been extinguished by war and rebellion. Before Constantine resigned the purple, and in the fourth month of the siege of Arles, intelligence was received in the imperial camp, that Jovinus had assumed the diadem at Mentz, in the Upper Germany, at the instigation of Gaur, king of the Alani, and of Guntarium, king of the Burgundians; and that the candidate, on whom they had bestowed the empire, advanced with a formidable host of barbarians, from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Rhone. Every circumstance is dark and extraordinary in the short history of the reign of Jovinus. It was natural to expect, that a brave and skillful general, at the head of a victorious army, would have asserted, in a field of battle, the justice of the cause of Honorius. The hasty retreat of Constantius might be justified by weighty reasons; but he resigned, without a struggle, the possession of Gaul: and Dardanus, the pretorian prefect, is recorded as the only magistrate who refused to yield obedience to the usurper.*

* *Solimanus Apollinaris*, II. v. epist. 9, p. 129, and *Nor. Hercul.* p. 286, after obviating the inconsistency of Constantius, the fidelity of Jovinus, the *perfidy* of Gauricus, continues to observe, that all the views of these tyrants were turned to the person of Dardanus. The poetical supposition of a respectable character in the world, and even in the church, held a secret correspondence with St. Augustine and St. Jerome; and was accomplished by the latter (tom. III. p. 86) with the epithets of *Christianorum Nobilissimus*, and *Nobilissimus Christianissimus*.

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When the Goths, two years after the siege of Rome, established their quarters in Gaul, it was natural to suppose that their inclination could be divided only between the emperor Honorius, with whom they had formed a recent alliance, and the degraded Attalus, whom they reserved in their camp for the occasional purpose of acting the part of a musician or a monarch. Yet in a moment of disgust, (for which it is not easy to assign a cause, or a date), Adolphus connected himself with the usurper of Gaul; and imposed on Attalus the ignominious task of negotiating the treaty, which ratified his own disgrace. We are again surprised to read, that, instead of considering the Gothic alliance as the firmest support of his throne, Jovinus upbraided, in dark and ambiguous language, the officious importunity of Attalus; that, scorning the advice of his great ally, he invested with the purple his brother Sebastian; and that he most imprudently accepted the service of Sarius, when that gallant chief, the soldier of Honorius, was provoked to desert the court of a prince, who knew not how to reward, or punish. Adolphus, educated among a race of warriors, who esteemed the duty of revenge as the most precious and sacred portion of their inheritance, advanced with a body of ten thousand Goths to encounter the hereditary enemy of the house of Balthi. He attacked Sarius at an unguarded moment, when he was accompanied only by eighteen, or twenty of his valiant followers. United by friendship, animated by despair,

but at length oppressed by multitudes, this band of heroes deserved the esteem, without exciting the compassion, of their enemies; and the lion was no sooner taken in the toils,* than he was instantly despatched. The death of Sarus dissolved the loose alliance which Adolphus still maintained with the usurpers of Gaul. He again listened to the dictates of love and prudence; and soon satisfied the brother of Placidia, by the assurance that he would immediately transmit, to the palace of Ravenna, the heads of the two tyrants, Jovinus and Sebastian. The king of the Goths executed his promise without difficulty or delay: the helpless brothers, unsupported by any personal merit, were abandoned by their barbarian auxiliaries; and the short opposition of Valentia was expiated by the ruin of one of the noblest cities of Gaul. The emperor, chosen by the Roman senate, who had been promoted, degraded, insulted, restored, again degraded, and again insulted, was finally abandoned to his fate: but when the Gothic king withdrew his protection, he was restrained by pity or contempt, from offering any violence to the person of Attalus. The unfortunate Attalus, who was left without subjects or allies, embarked in one of the ports of Spain, in search of some

* The expression may be understood almost literally: *Adolphus puerum in laqueo veniens capiens. Tunc rex captus non dignus auro, sed hostis gemitu;* and the method of entangling and catching is every where described. See much poetry to the same purpose, *Æneid. lib. vi.* If the poet alludes to the story, it is the translation of Tully in Hart, *de Imperatoribus rom.* 2. p. 398.

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secure and solitary retreat; but he was intercepted at sea, conducted to the presence of Honorius, led in triumph through the streets of Rome or Ravenna, and publicly exposed to the gazing multitude, on the second step of the throne of his *invincible* conqueror. The same measure of punishment, with which, in the days of his prosperity, he was accused of menacing his rival, was inflicted on Attalus himself: he was condemned, after the amputation of two fingers, to a perpetual exile in the isle of Lipari, where he was supplied with the decent necessities of life. The remainder of the reign of Honorius was undisturbed by rebellion; and it may be observed, that, in the space of five years, seven usurpers had yielded to the fortune of a prince, who was himself incapable either of counsel or of action.

Invasion of  
Spain by  
the Suevi,  
Vandalæ,  
Alani, &c.  
A. D. 409.  
Oct. 13.

The situation of Spain, separated, on all sides, from the enemies of Rome, by the sea, by the mountains, and by intermediate provinces, had secured the long tranquillity of that remote and sequestered country; and we may observe, as a sure symptom of domestic happiness, that in a period of four hundred years, Spain furnished very few materials to the history of the Roman empire. The footsteps of the barbarians, who, in the reign of Gallienus, had penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, were soon obliterated by the return of peace; and in the fourth century of the Christian era, the cities of Emerita, or Merida, of Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman

world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade.\* The arts and sciences flourished under the protection of the emperors; and if the character of the Spaniards was enfeebled by peace and servitude, the hostile approach of the Germans, who had spread terror and desolation from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, seemed to rekindle some sparks of military ardour. As long as the defence of the mountains was intrusted to the hardy and faithful militia of the country, they successfully repelled the frequent attempts of the barbarians. But no sooner had the national troops been compelled to resign their post to the Honorian bands, in the service of Constantine, than the gates of Spain were treacherously betrayed to the public enemy, about ten months before the sack of Rome by the Goths.† The consciousness of guilt, and the thirst of rapine, prompted the mercenary guards

\* Without recurring to the more ancient writers, I shall quote three respectable authorities: who's telling to the fourth and seventh centuries; the *Expositio totius Mundi*, q. IV. in the third volume of Hudson's *Minor Geographical Discoveries*, (see *Chap. VII.*, p. 237, edit. Todd, and *Index* of Bayle, *Profrat. ad Orem*, 29. *Græc.*, Hist. *Geogr.* p. 1077). Many particulars relative to the fertility and fruit of Spain, may be found in Neumes, *Hispania Illustrata*, and in Hist. Hist. des *Commerce des Anciens*, t. 40, p. 228-234.

† The date is accurately fixed in the Fasti, and the Chronicle of Isidore. *Fasti* q. vii. c. 46, p. 319; imputes the loss of Spain to the treachery of the *Honoriani*; while *Socrus* II. 14, c. 13, accuses only their negligence.

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of the Pyrenees to desert their station; to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani; and to swell the torrent which was poured with irresistible violence from the frontiers of Gaul to the sea of Africa. The misfortunes of Spain may be described in the language of its most eloquent historian, who has concisely expressed the passionate, and perhaps exaggerated, declamations of contemporary writers.\* “The  
 “irruption of these nations was followed by the  
 “most dreadful calamities: as the barbarians  
 “exercised their indiscriminate cruelty on the  
 “fortunes of the Romans and the Spaniards;  
 “and ravaged with equal fury the cities and the  
 “open country. The progress of famine reduced  
 “the miserable inhabitants to feed on the flesh  
 “of their fellow-creatures; and even the wild  
 “beasts, who multiplied, without controul, in  
 “the desert, were exasperated, by the taste of  
 “blood, and the impatience of hunger, boldly  
 “to attack and devour their human prey. Pe-  
 “tilence soon appeared, the inseparable compa-  
 “nion of famine; a large proportion of the peo-  
 “ple was swept away; and the groans of the  
 “dying excited only the envy of their surviving  
 “friends. At length the barbarians, satiated  
 “with carnage and rapine, and afflicted by the  
 “contagious evils which they themselves had  
 “introduced, fixed their permanent seats in the

\* Justine wishes to apply the population of Diodot to these national calamities and is, therefore, obliged to accommodate the circumstances of the events to the terms of the population.



" depopulated country. The ancient Gallia,  
 " whose limits included the kingdom of Old  
 " Castile, was divided between the Suevi and  
 " the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over  
 " the provinces of Carthagera and Lusitania,  
 " from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic ocean;  
 " and the fruitful territory of Bætica was allotted  
 " to the Silingi, another branch of the Vandabie  
 " nation. After regulating this partition, the  
 " conquerors contracted with their new subjects  
 " some reciprocal engagements of protection and  
 " obedience: the lands were again cultivated;  
 " and the towns and villages were again oc-  
 " cupied by a captive people. The greatest  
 " part of the Spaniards was even disposed to  
 " prefer this new condition of poverty and bar-  
 " barism, to the severe oppressions of the Roman  
 " government; yet there were many who still  
 " asserted their native freedom: and who refu-  
 " ed, more especially in the mountains of Galli-  
 " cin, to submit to the barbarian yoke."

The important present of the lands of Jovinus  
 and Sebastian, had approved the friendship of  
 Adolphus, and restored Gaul to the obedience of  
 his brother Honorius. Peace was incompatible  
 with the situation and temper of the king of the  
 Goths. He readily accepted the proposal of

Adolphus,  
 king of the  
 Goths,  
 married  
 into Spain,  
 A. D. 414.

\* Mémoires de Michel le Comte, t. vi. p. 118. Hist.  
 Comte, 1225. He had read, in Orosius, l. vii. c. 41. p. 218, that the  
 barbarians had seized upon some parts of the province; and that many  
 of the provincials preferred the barbarian yoke to the Roman.



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.....

turning his victorious arms against the barbarians of Spain: the troops of Constantius intercepted his communication with the sea-ports of Gaul, and gently pressed his march towards the Pyrenees:<sup>a</sup> he passed the mountains, and surprised, in the name of the emperor, the city of Barcelona. The fondness of Adolphus for his Roman bride, was not abated by time or possession: and the birth of a son, surnamed, from his illustrious grandsire, Theodosius, appeared to fix him for ever in the interest of the republic. The loss of that infant, whose remains were deposited in a silver coffin in one of the churches near Barcelona, afflicted his parents; but the grief of the Gothic king was suspended by the labours of the field: and the course of his victories was soon interrupted by domestic treason. He had imprudently received into his service one of the followers of Sarus: a barbarian of a daring spirit, but of a diminutive stature: whose secret desire of revenging the death of his beloved patron, was continually irritated by the sarcasms of his insolent master. Adolphus was assassinated in the palace of Barcelona: the laws of the succession were violated by a tumultuous faction;<sup>b</sup> and a stranger

His death,  
A. D. 415,  
August.

<sup>a</sup> This mixture of force and persuasion may be fairly inferred from comparing Orosius and Jornandes, the Roman and the Gothic historians.

<sup>b</sup> According to the opinion of Jornandes, *lc.* 32, p. 613, the true hereditary right to the Gothic sceptre was vested in the dead; but those princes, who were the vassals of the Huns, commanded the tribes of the Ostrogoths in some distant parts of Germany or Scythia.

to the royal race, Singaric, the brother of Sarus himself, was seated on the Gothic throne. The first act of his reign was the inhuman murder of the six children of Adolphus, the issue of a former marriage, whom he tore, without pity, from the feeble arms of a venerable bishop.\* The unfortunate Placidia, instead of the respectful compassion, which she might have excited in the most savage breasts, was treated with cruel and wanton insult. The daughter of the emperor Theodosius, confounded among a crowd of vulgar captives, was compelled to march on foot above twelve miles, before the horse of a barbarian, the assassin of an husband whom Placidia loved and lamented."

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The Gothic  
conquer  
and restores  
Spain.  
A. D. 413.  
415.

But Placidia soon obtained the pleasure of revenge; and the view of her ignominious sufferings might rouse an indignant people against the tyrant, who was assassinated on the seventh day of his usurpation. After the death of Singaric, the free choice of the nation bestowed the Gothic sceptre on Wallia: whose warlike and ambitious temper appeared, in the beginning of his reign, extremely hostile to the republic. He marched in arms, from Barcelona to the shores of the Atlantic ocean, which the ancients revered and dreaded as the boundary of the world. But when he reached the southern promontory of

\* The murder is related by Olympiodorus; but the number of the children is taken from an epitaph of suspected authority.

\* The death of Adolphus was venerated as Constantine's with its summations and Christian graces. (See Oros. Alexandria.) It may seem doubtful, whether the Greeks were alarmed, on this occasion, by the arrival of the barbarians, or of the Latins.

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Spain,<sup>1</sup> and, from the rock now covered by the fortress of Gibraltar, contemplated the neighbouring and fertile coast of Africa. Wallia resumed the designs of conquest, which had been interrupted by the death of Alaric. The winds and waves again disappointed the enterprise of the Goths; and the minds of a superstitious people were deeply affected by the repeated disasters of storms and shipwrecks. In this disposition, the successor of Adolphus no longer refused to listen to a Roman ambassador, whose proposals were enforced by the real, or supposed, approach of a numerous army, under the conduct of the brave Constantine. A solemn treaty was stipulated and observed: Placidia was honourably restored to her brother; six hundred thousand measures of wheat were delivered to the hungry Goths;<sup>2</sup> and Wallia engaged to draw his sword in the service of the empire. A bloody war was instantly excited among the barbarians of Spain: and the contending princes are said to have addressed their letters, their ambassadors, and their hostages, to the throne of the western emperor, exhorting him to remain a tranquil spectator of their contest; the events of which must be favourable to the Romans, by the mutual slaughter of

<sup>1</sup> Quod Tiberianus erat Arjos Wallia heris.  
Vandalibus totumque et pariter Martia Alamo  
Strenu. et occidit heris exitum Colpes.

Sidon. Apollinar. in Panegy. Anthem. 381.  
p. 388, edit. Girardin.

<sup>2</sup> This supply was very acceptable: the Goths were troubled by the Vandals of Spain with the epistles of Præd, bishop, in their extreme distress. They had given a piece of gold for a trull, or about half a pound, of Rome. Olympiod. apud Pagn. p. 199.

their common enemies.<sup>a</sup> The Spanish war was obstinately supported, during three campaigns, with desperate valour, and various success; and the martial achievements of Wallia diffused through the empire the superior renown of the Gothic hero. He exterminated the Silingi, who had irretrievably ruined the elegant plenty of the province of Bœtica. He slew, in battle, the king of the Alani; and the remains of those Scythian wanderers, who escaped from the field, instead of choosing a new leader, humbly sought a refuge under the standard of the Vandals, with whom they were ever afterwards confounded. The Vandals themselves, and the Suevi, yielded to the efforts of the invincible Goths. The promiscuous multitude of barbarians, whose retreat had been intercepted, were driven into the mountains of Galicia; where they still continued, in a narrow compass, and on a barren soil, to exercise their domestic and implacable hostilities. In the pride of Victory, Wallia was faithful to his engagements: he restored his Spanish conquests to the obedience of Honorius; and the tyranny of the imperial officers soon reduced an oppressed people to regret the time of their barbarian servitude. While the event of the war was still doubtful, the first advantages obtained by the

<sup>a</sup> *Deques* inserts a copy of these pretended letters. The copy on which I have taken, contains many mistakes; some really essential, others trifling, the circumstances themselves were quite contrary to the idea of such a proceeding. The idea is just; but I cannot persuade myself that it was intended, as expressed, by the late

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arms of Wallia, had encouraged the court of Ravenna to decree the honours of a triumph to their feeble sovereign. He ensured Rome like the ancient conquerors of nations; and if the monuments of servile corruption had not long since met with the fate which they deserved, we should probably find that a crowd of poets, and orators, of magistrates, and bishops, applauded the fortune, the wisdom, and the invincible courage, of the emperor Honorius.\*

There are  
historians  
in Aquitain,  
A. D. 419.

Such a triumph might have been justly claimed by the ally of Rome, if Wallia, before he repassed the Pyrenees, had extirpated the seeds of the Spanish war. His victorious Goths, forty-three years after they had passed the Danube, were established, according to the faith of treaties, in the possession of the second Aquitain: a maritime province between the Garonne and the Loire, under the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bourdeaux. That metropolis, advantageously situated for the trade of the ocean, was built in a regular and elegant form; and its numerous inhabitants were distinguished among the Gauls by their wealth, their learning, and the politeness of their manners. The adjacent province, which has been fondly compared to the garden of Eden, is blessed with a fruitful soil, and a temperate climate: the face of the country

\* Roman triumphum ingreditur, is the literal expression of Froben's Chronicle. The facts which relate to the death of Adolphus, and the exploits of Wallia, are related from Olympiodorus, second Flor., p. 186; Orosius, l. vii. c. 45, p. 284-287; Jornandes, de Geticis, c. 31, 32, and the Chronicles of Isidore and Bede.



displayed the arts and the rewards of industry; and the Goths, after their martial toils, luxuriously exhausted the rich vineyards of Aquitaine.<sup>1</sup> The Gothic limits were enlarged by the additional gift of some neighbouring diocesses; and the successors of Alaric fixed their royal residence at Thoulouse, which included five populous quarters, or cities, within the spacious circuit of its walls. About the same time, in the last years of the reign of Honorius, the GOTHs, the BURGUNDIANS, and the FRANKS, obtained a permanent seat and dominion in the provinces of Gaul. The liberal grant of the usurper Jovianus to his Burgundian allies, was confirmed by the lawful emperor: the lands of the First, or Upper Germany, were ceded to those formidable barbarians; and they gradually occupied, either by conquest, or treaty, the two provinces which still retain, with the titles of *Duchy* and of *County*, the national appellation of Burgundy.<sup>2</sup> The Franks, the valiant and faithful allies of the Roman republic, were soon tempted to imitate the invaders, whom they had so bravely resisted.

<sup>1</sup> Antoninus the Cleric's *Urbis*, p. 337-337; *collegium Bonorum* with the partial affection of a nation. See in Salazar's *de Gloria*, lib. p. 228, Paris, 1686; a local description of the provinces of Aquitaine and Novempopulania.

<sup>2</sup> Orosius (l. vii. c. 37, p. 350) commands the mildness and wisdom of these Burgundians, who treated their subjects of Gaul as their Christian brethren. Maucropius illustrated the origin of their kingdom in the four first annals at the end of his *liberine History of the Ancient Germans*, vol. ii. p. 353-377 of the English translation.



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Treyes, the capital of Gaul, was pillaged by their lawless bands; and the humble colony, which they so long maintained in the district of Taxandria, in Brabant, insensibly multiplied along the banks of the Meuse and Scheldt, till their independent power filled the whole extent of the Second, or Lower Germany. These facts may be sufficiently justified by historic evidence; but the foundation of the French monarchy by Pharamond, the conquests, the laws, and even the existence, of that hero, have been justly arraigned by the impartial severity of modern criticism.\*

State of the  
barbarians  
in Gaul,  
A. D. 420,  
&c.

The ruin of the opulent provinces of Gaul may be dated from the establishment of these barbarians, whose alliance was dangerous and oppressive, and who were rapaciously impelled, by interest or passion, to violate the public peace. A heavy and partial ransom was imposed on the surviving provincials, who had escaped the calamities of war: the fairest and most fertile lands were assigned to the rapacious strangers, for the use of their families, their slaves, and their cattle; and the trembling natives relinquished with a sigh the inheritance of their fathers. Yet these domestic misfortunes, which are seldom the lot of a vanquished people, had been felt and inflicted

\* See Mabry, *l. viii. c. 43, 44, 45*. Except in a short and unimportant list of the *Visigoths of Provence*, *l. i. c. 229*, the name of Pharamond is never mentioned before the seventh century. The author of the *Gothic Frisavorum* *l. i. c. 10, p. 146* suggests, probably erroneously, that the crown of Pharamond, or at least of a king, was communicated to the Franks by his father, Marcomir, who was an early Frunker.

by the Romans themselves, not only in the insolence of foreign conquest, but in the madness of civil discord. The Triumvirs proscribed eighteen of the most flourishing colonies of Italy; and distributed their lands and houses to the veterans who revenged the death of Cæsar, and oppressed the liberty of their country. Two poets, of unequal fame, have deplored, in similar circumstances, the loss of their patrimony; but the legions of Augustus appear to have surpassed, in violence and injustice, the barbarians, who invaded Gaul, under the reign of Honorius. It was not without the utmost difficulty that Virgil escaped from the sword of the centurion, who had usurped his farm in the neighbourhood of Mantua; but Paulinus of Bourdeaux received a sum of money from his Gothic purchaser, which he accepted with pleasure and surprise; and, though it was much inferior to the real value of his estate, this act of rapine was disguised by some colours of moderation and equity.\* The odious name of compurers, was softened into the mild and friendly appellation of the *guests*

\* O Lydia, viii perventura; advena summi

(Quid non pueri: vixit summi in possessione agelli

thorax: Hæc non summi: reversa migravit ardua.

Nunc vultu istius, &c.

See the whole of the 8th eclogue, with the words) Commentaries of Festus. Fifteen miles of the Marston territory were assigned to the veterans, with a restriction, in favour of the inhabitants, of three miles round the city. Even in this case they were shared by Albinus Varus, a Roman lawyer, and one of the consuls, who measured eight hundred paces of water and meadow.

\* See the remarkable passage of the *Epistola* of Paulinus, 276, cited Martini, l. viii, c. 37.

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of the Romans: and the barbarians of Gaul, more especially the Goths, repeatedly declared, that they were bound to the people by the ties of hospitality, and to the emperor by the duty of allegiance and military service. The title of Honorius and his successors; their laws, and their civil magistrates, were still respected in the provinces of Gaul, of which they had resigned the possession to the barbarian allies: and the kings, who exercised a supreme and independent authority over their native subjects, ambitiously solicited the more honourable rank of master-generals of the imperial armies.\* Such was the involuntary reverence which the Roman name still impressed on the minds of those warriors, who had borne away in triumph the spoils of the capital.

Result of  
Britain  
and Armorica.  
1076.  
A. D. 408.

Whilst Italy was ravished by the Goths, and a succession of feeble tyrants oppressed the provinces beyond the Alps, the British island separated itself from the body of the Roman empire. The regular forces, which guarded that remote province, had been gradually withdrawn: and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates, and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a declining monarchy. They assembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and rejoined in the

\* This important truth is established by the secretary of Theodoric (*Hist. des Rois rom.* v. p. 443), and by the integrity of the Alist Odoas, (*Hist. de l'Enlèvement de la Marcelline* Vénus, par les Goths, tom. 1. p. 229).

important discovery of their own strength.\* Afflicted by similar calamities, and actuated by the same spirit, the Arminian provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul, between the Seine and the Loire†) resolved to imitate the example of the neighbouring island. The expelled they Roman magistrates, who acted under the authority of the usurper Constantine; and a free government was established among a people who had so long been subject to the arbitrary will of a master. The independence of Britain and Armenia was soon confirmed by Honorius himself, the lawful emperor of the West; and the letters, by which he committed to the new states the care of their own safety, might be interpreted as an absolute and perpetual abdication of the exercise and rights of sovereignty. This interpretation was, in some measure, justified by the event. After the usurpers of Gaul had successively fallen, the maritime provinces were restored to the empire. Yet their obedience was imperfect and precarious: the vain, inconstant, rebellious disposition of the people, was incompatible either with free-

\* Zosimus ch. vi, p. 376, 383, relates in a few words the revolt of Britain and Armenia. Our antiquaries, even the great Camden himself, have been betrayed into several gross errors, by their imperfect knowledge of the history of the continent.

† The limits of Armenia are defined by two national geographers, Memnonius de Valois and d'Anville, in their *Notitia of Asiatic Gaul*. The word had been used in a more extensive, and less precise, signification, by a much earlier, geographer.

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claim of servitude;\* and Armorica, though it could not long maintain the form of a republic,<sup>†</sup> was agitated by frequent and destructive revolts. Britain was irrecoverably lost.<sup>‡</sup> But as the emperor wisely acquiesced in the independence of a remote province, the separation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were succeeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendship.

State of  
Britain,  
A.D. 430.  
448.

This revolution dissolved the artificial fabric of civil and military government, and the inde-

*Ubi inter gentes antiquas stabilius arces,  
Armoricae prius sedes cognomine dictæ.  
Turre, domus, vinctus, pecora, iura, ritusque  
Fœderibus, dignisque aliis servatib' honor;  
Pecunia, pœnorum, et omnis opesque fœdi.*

Erasmus, *Miluv. de Vit. St. Germani*, l. v. coud. Valer. Notit. Gall. Imper. p. 42. Various alleges around testimonies to confirm this character; to which I shall add the evidence of the presbyter Constantine, (A. D. 468, who, in the life of St. German, calls the Armorican rebels *rudium et indisciplinatum populum*. See the *Homages of France*, book i. p. 445.

\* I thought it necessary to enter my protest against this part of the system of the *Abbe Dubois*, which *Monroption* has so vigorously opposed. See *Esprit des Loix*, l. xxx. c. 24.

† *Spruons* are the *Prætorii præfecti* were 1200, at the death of *Procopius*, the Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2, p. 181. *Louise* editions, in a very important passage, which has been too much neglected. Even *Bede* (*Hist. Gent. Anglorum*, l. i. c. 19, p. 59, edit. Smith) acknowledges that the Romans finally left Britain in the reign of *Hadrian*. Yet our modern historians and antiquaries extend the term of their dominion; and there are some who allow only the interval of a few months between their departure and the arrival of the Saxons.

‡ *Bede* has not forgot the acknowledgment of the emperor against the *Saxons* and *Picts*; and more authentic proof will hereafter be produced, that the independent Britons raised 12,000 men for the service of the emperor *Constantine*, in 430.

pendent country, during a period of forty years, till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns.<sup>2</sup> I. Zosimus, who alone has preserved the memory of this singular transaction, very accurately observes, that the letters of Honorius were addressed to the *cities* of Britain.<sup>3</sup> Under the protection of the Romans, ninety-two considerable towns had arisen in the several parts of that great province; and, among them, thirty-three cities were distinguished above the rest, by their superior privileges and importance.<sup>4</sup> Each of these cities, as in all the other provinces of the empire, formed a legal corporation, for the purpose of regulating their domestic policy; and the powers of municipal government were distributed among annual magistrates, a select senate, and the assembly of the people, according to the original model of the Roman constitution.<sup>5</sup> The management of a common revenue, the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the habits of public council and command, were inherent to these petty

<sup>2</sup> I owe to myself and to history itself, to declare that none of the conjectures in this paragraph are founded only on conjecture and analogy. The stubbornness of our language has sometimes forced me to derive from the conventional into the real meaning.

<sup>3</sup> *Epist. ad Britannos*. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 261.

<sup>4</sup> Two cities of Britain were *metropoles*, and *coloniae*, too. *Epist. ad Britannos*, twelve *separatae* of *urbium* *urbis*. This detail is taken from Richard of Gloucestre, de *Brit. Britannia*, p. 36; and though it may not seem probable, that he wrote from the MSS. of *ancient* *genital*, he shows a genuine knowledge of antiquity, very extraordinary for a monk of the fourteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> See *Maffei Verona Illustrata*, part i. l. i. p. 82-102.



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.....

republics; and when they asserted their independence, the youth of the city, and of the adjacent districts, would naturally range themselves under the standard of the magistrate. But the desire of obtaining the advantages, and of escaping the burdens, of a political society, is a perpetual and inexhaustible source of discord: nor can it reasonably be presumed, that the restoration of British freedom was exempt from tumult and faction. The pre-eminence of birth and fortune must have been frequently violated by bold and popular citizens; and the haughty nobles, who complained that they were become the subjects of their own servants,<sup>1</sup> would sometimes regret the reign of an arbitrary monarch. II. The jurisdiction of each city over the adjacent country, was supported by the patrimonial influence of the principal senators; and the smaller towns, the villages, and the proprietors of land, consulted their own safety, by adhering to the shelter of these rising republics. The sphere of their attraction was proportioned to the respective degrees of their wealth and populousness; but the hereditary lords of ample possessions, who were not oppressed by the neighbourhood of any powerful city, aspired to the rank of independent princes, and boldly exercised the rights of peace and war. The gardens and villas, which exhibited some faint imitation of Italian elegance, would soon be converted into

<sup>1</sup> *Leges continent, libertatemque redolent.*

*Et servos domosque sua sunt ante quos.*

*Thomson, Poem. l. 1, 812.*

strong castles, the refuge, in time of danger, of the adjacent country :<sup>a</sup> the produce of the land was applied to purchase arms and horses : to maintain a military force of slaves, of peasants, and of licentious followers ; and the chieftain might assume, within his own domain, the powers of a civil magistrate. Several of these British chiefs might be the genuine posterity of ancient kings : and many more would be tempted to adopt this honourable genealogy, and to vindicate their hereditary claims, which had been suspended by the usurpation of the Cæsars. Their situation, and their hopes, would dispose them to affect the dress, the language, and the customs of their ancestors. If the *princes* of Britain relapsed into barbarism, while the cities studiously preserved the laws and manners of Rome, the whole island must have been gradually divided by the distinction of two national parties : again broken into a thousand subdivisions of war and faction, by the various provocations of interest and resentment. The public strength, instead of being united against a foreign enemy, was consumed in obscure and intestine quarrels :

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continued

<sup>a</sup> An inscription (upon a stone, Not. ad Brit. Apollinar. p. 55) describes a castle, *summu[m] ex parietib[us] nullius munitum*, covered by Diadema in his own garter, near Foston, in the second Northampton, and named by him Theropolis.

<sup>b</sup> The establishment of their power would have been easy indeed, if we could adopt the impracticable scheme of a lively and learned oligarchy ; who suppose, that the British monarchs of the seventh century continued to reign, though with unbecomingly ~~powerless~~ from the time of Claudius to that of Honorius. See Whitaker's History of Manichæus, vol. 1, p. 247-257.

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and the personal merit which had placed a successful leader at the head of his equals, might enable him to subdue the freedom of some neighbouring cities; and to claim a rank among the *tyrants*,<sup>a</sup> who infested Britain after the dissolution of the Roman government. III. The British church might be composed of thirty or forty bishops,<sup>b</sup> with an adequate proportion of the inferior clergy; and the want of riches (for they seem to have been poor<sup>c</sup>) would compel them to deserve the public esteem, by a decent and exemplary behaviour. The interest, as well as the temper, of the clergy, was favourable to the peace and union of their distracted country: those salutary lessons might be frequently inculcated in their popular discourses; and the episcopal synods were the only councils that could pretend to the weight and authority of a national assembly. In such councils, where the princes and magistrates sat promiscuously with the bishops, the important affairs of the state, as well as of the church, might be freely debated; differences reconciled, alliances formed, contributions imposed, wise resolutions often concerted, and some-

<sup>a</sup> *XXXI. 446. per tyrannos, &c. &c. &c.* Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2. p. 161. *Regnum gentile presulem synagogarum*, was the expression of Juvenal, in the year 415, *Sat. li. p. 253*, of Claudian. By the pilgrims, who resorted every year to the Holy Land, the monks of Bethlehem received the earliest and most accurate intelligence. <sup>b</sup> See Wingham's *London Antiquities*, vol. i. l. 1. c. 2. p. 204.

<sup>c</sup> It is reported of some British bishops, who assisted at the council of Nice, A. D. 325, *non pauperes, sedesque arida habuerunt*. Sozomenus *Histor. Eccl. l. ii. p. 302*. Some of their churches were very poor in better circumstances.

times executed; and there is reason to believe, that, in moments of extreme danger, a *Per-dragon*, or Dictator, was elected by the general consent of the Britons. These pastoral cares, so worthy of the episcopal character, were interrupted, however, by zeal and superstition; and the British clergy incessantly laboured to eradicate the Pelagian heresy, which they abhorred, as the peculiar disgrace of their native country.<sup>1</sup>

It is somewhat remarkable, or rather it is extremely natural, that the revolt of Britain and Armorica should have introduced an appearance of liberty into the obedient provinces of Gaul. In a solemn edict,<sup>2</sup> filled with the strongest assurances of that paternal affection which princes so often express, and so seldom feel, the emperor Honorius promulgated his intention of convening an annual assembly of the seven provinces: a name peculiarly appropriated to Aquitain, and the ancient Narbonnese, which had long since exchanged their Celtic rudeness for the useful and elegant arts of Italy.<sup>3</sup> Arles, the seat of government and commerce, was appointed for the place of the assembly: which regularly

Assembly  
of the seven  
provinces  
of Gaul.  
A. D. 418.

<sup>1</sup> Consult Euseb. de Antiq. Britan. Fragment. c. 8-12.

<sup>2</sup> See the original text of this edict, as published by Harmer, (Nott. ad. Aulic. Apollin. p. 147). Harmer, of Rheims, who assigns a place to the *Helopes*, had probably seen (in the sixth century) a more perfect copy. Dubou. Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française, tom. I. p. 211-256.

<sup>3</sup> It is evident from the Notice, that the seven provinces were the Viennoise, the maritime Alps, the first and second Narbonnese, Nempoussienne, and the first and second Aquitain. In the name of the first Aquitain, the Abbé Dubou, on the authority of Harmer, seems to introduce the first Lyonnaise, or Lugdunensis.

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continued twenty-eight days, from the fifteenth of August to the thirteenth of September, of every year. It consisted of the pretorian prefect of the Gauls; of seven provincial governors, one consular and six presidents; of the magistrates, and perhaps the bishops, of about sixty cities; and of a competent, though indefinite, number of the most honourable and opulent *possessors* of land, who might justly be considered as the representatives of their country. They were empowered to interpret and communicate the laws of their sovereign; to expose the grievances and wishes of their constituents; to moderate the excessive or unequal weight of taxes; and to deliberate on every subject of local or national importance, that could tend to the restoration of the peace and prosperity of the seven provinces. If such an institution, which gave the people an interest in their own government, had been universally established by Trajan or the Antonines, the seeds of public wisdom and virtue might have been cherished and propagated in the empire of Rome. The privileges of the subject would have secured the throne of the monarch; the abuses of an arbitrary administration might have been prevented, in some degree, or corrected, by the interposition of these representative assemblies; and the country would have been defended against a foreign enemy by the arms of natives and freemen. Under the mild and generous influence of liberty, the Roman empire might have remained invincible and immortal; or if its excessive magnitude, and the instability

of human affairs, had opposed such perpetual continuance, its vital and constituent members might have separately preserved their vigour and independence. But in the decline of the empire; when every principle of health and life had been exhausted, the tardy application of this partial remedy was incapable of producing any important or salutary effects. The emperor Honorius expresses his surprise, that he must compel the reluctant provinces to accept a privilege which they should ardently have solicited. A fine of three, or even five, pounds of gold, was imposed on the absent representatives: who seem to have declined this imaginary gift of a free constitution, as the last and most cruel insult of their oppressors.



## CHAP. XXXII.

*Aradius emperor of the East—Administration and disgraces of Theodosius—Retal of Guinn—Persecution of St. John Chrysostom—Theodosius II emperor of the East—His sister Pulcheria—His wife Eudocia—The Persian war, and division of Armenia.*

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The empire  
of the East.  
A. D. 395.  
1425.  
Reign of  
Arcadius.  
A. D. 395.  
408.

THE division of the Roman world between the sons of Theodosius, marks the final establishment of the empire of the East, which, from the reign of Arcadius to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, subsisted one thousand and fifty-eight years, in a state of premature and perpetual decay. The sovereign of that empire assumed, and obstinately retained, the vain, and at length fictitious, title of Emperor of the ROMANS; and the hereditary appellations of CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS continued to declare that he was the legitimate successor of the first of men, who had reigned over the first of nations. The palace of Constantinople rivalled, and perhaps excelled, the magnificence of Persia; and the eloquent sermons of St. Chrysostom's cele-

\* Porphyrius, who, by the command of his Belisarius superiors, was compelled (see Longinus, tom. i. p. 201, to correct the defective edition of St. Chrysostom, in sixteen volumes in folio, Paris 1789), summed himself with extracting from that immense collection of sermons some curious antiquities, which deserve the courtesy of the Theodosian age, the Chrysostom Opera, tom. iii, p. 192-200, and his Spanish Dissertation, in the *Memoria de l' Acad. de Inscripciones*, tom. iii, p. 418-430.

brate, while they condemn, the pompous luxury of the reign of Arcadius. "The emperor," says he, "wears on his head either a diadem, or a crown of gold, decorated with precious stones of inestimable value. These ornaments, and his purple garments, are reserved for his sacred person alone; and his robes of silk are embroidered with the figures of golden dragons. His throne is of massy gold. Whenever he appears in public, he is surrounded by his courtiers, his guards, and his attendants. Their spears, their shields, their cuirasses, the bridles and trappings of their horses, have either the substance, or the appearance, of gold; and the large splendid boss in the midst of their shield, is encircled with smaller bosses, which represent the shape of the human eye. The two mules that draw the chariot of the monarch, are perfectly white, and shining all over with gold. The chariot itself, of pure and solid gold, attracts the admiration of the spectators, who contemplate the purple curtains, the snowy carpet, the size of the precious stones, and the resplendent plates of gold, that glitter as they are agitated by the motion of the carriage. The imperial pictures are white, on a blue ground; the emperor appears seated on his throne, with his arms, his horses, and his guards beside him; and his vanquished enemies in chains at his feet." The successors of Constantine established their perpetual residence in the royal city, which he

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had erected on the verge of Europe and Asia, inaccessible to the menaces of their enemies, and perhaps to the complaints of their people, they received, with each wind, the tributary productions of every climate; while the impregnable strength of their capital continued for ages to defy the hostile attempts of the barbarians. Their dominions were bounded by the Adriatic and the Tigris; and the whole interval of twenty-five days' navigation, which separated the extreme cold of Scythia from the torrid zone of Ethiopia,\* was comprehended within the limits of the empire of the East. The populous countries of that empire were the seat of art and learning, of luxury and wealth; and the inhabitants, who had assumed the language and manners of Greeks, styled themselves, with some appearance of truth, the most enlightened and civilized portion of the human species. The form of government was a pure and simple monarchy; the name of the ROMAN EMPEROR, which so long preserved a faint tradition of freedom, was confined to the Latin provinces; and the princes of Constantinople measured their greatness by the servile obedience of their people. They were ignorant

\* According to the same reckoning, that is, that would tally with a day which, 1000 miles, or 400 leagues, in the estimation of a day and night; Diodorus Siculus computes six days from the Hellespont to Rhodes; and four days from Rhodes to Alexandria. The voyage of one day from Alexandria to Syene, near the mouth of the Nile, as it was called the distance, and here more exactly, Strabo lib. xiv. p. 205, says, was made. The night without moon, imperceptible, was the extreme light from the stars, of the night and I will be quick of the Hellespont to the Nile, says, of a night's journey, as if it lay within the power of man.

how much this passive disposition enervates and degrades every faculty of the mind. The subjects, who had resigned their will to the absolute commands of a master, were equally incapable of guarding their lives and fortunes against the assaults of the barbarians, or of defending their reason from the terrors of superstition.

Admini-  
stration and  
character  
of Eutro-  
pius.  
A. D. 392-  
396.

The first events of the reign of Arcadius and Honorius are so intimately connected, that the rebellion of the Goths, and the fall of Rufinus, have already claimed a place in the history of the West. It has already been observed, that Eutropius, one of the principal eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, succeeded the haughty minister whose ruin he had accomplished, and whose vices he soon imitated. Every order of the state bowed to the new favourite; and their tame and obsequious submission encouraged him to insult the laws, and, what is still more difficult and dangerous, the manners of his country. Under the weakest of the predecessors of Arcadius, the reign of the eunuchs had been secret and almost invisible. They insinuated themselves into the confidence of the prince; but their ostensible functions were confined to the menial service of the wardrobe and imperial bed-chamber. They might direct, in a whisper, the public

\* Eutropius, who shared his authority with the blind suppression of a constitution, gives the preference to the two books which Claudian composed against Eutropius, above all literary productions. (Barthelemy, *Recherches sur l'histoire de l'empire romain*, tom. iv., p. 327.) They are indeed a very stupid and superficial satire; and would be more valuable as an historical sketch of the eunuchs, were they regular and more frequent.



cessful attempts provoked the secret contempt of the spectators: the Goths expressed their wish, that *such* a general might always command the armies of Rome; and the name of the minister was branded with ridicule, more pernicious perhaps than hatred, to a public character. The subjects of Arcadius were exasperated by the recollection, that this deformed and decrepid amuch,<sup>1</sup> who so perversely mimicked the actions of a man, was born in the most abject condition of servitude: that, before he entered the imperial palace, he had been successively sold, and purchased, by an hundred masters, who had exhausted his youthful strength in every mean and infamous office, and at length dismissed him, in his old age, to freedom and poverty.<sup>2</sup> While these disgraceful stories were circulated, and perhaps exaggerated, in private conversations, the vanity of the favourite was flattered with the most extraordinary honours. In the senate, in

<sup>1</sup> The poet's lively description of his deformity, in 110.113, is confirmed by the authentic testimony of Chrysostom, *Hom. vi. p. 284. edit. Montfaucon*; who observes, that when the poet was called away, the face of Flavianus appeared more ugly and striking than that of an old woman. *Claudian remarks, li. 100.* and the remark must have been founded on experience, when there was scarcely any interval between the youth and the decrepid age of an amuch.

<sup>2</sup> Eutropius appears to have been a native of Antioch or Syria. His three *sesterti*, which Claudius some years before described, were those of T. He spent three years at the estate of Pannius, a grove or garden of the imperial station. P. Pannius gave him to the old general Arinthius, in whom he very skillfully perceived the possession of a pimp. T. He was given, on his marriage, to the daughter of Arinthius; and the father himself was employed to make her hair, to prevent the secret power, it would be to put his mistress in his view. *Hom. li. 11. 117.*





As long as he despoiled the oppressors, who had enriched themselves with the plunder of the people, Eutrophius might gratify his covetous disposition without much envy or injustice: but the progress of his rapine soon invaded the wealth which had been acquired by lawful inheritance, or laudable industry. The usual methods of extortion were practised and improved; and Claudius has sketched a lively and original picture of the public auction of the state. "The importance  
"of the emench" (says that agreeable satirist)  
"has served only to stimulate his avarice: the  
"same hand which, in his servile condition, was  
"exercised in petty thefts, to unlock the coffers  
"of his master, now grasps the riches of the  
"world; and this infamous broker of the em-  
"pire appropriates and divides the Roman pro-  
"vinces, from mount Haemus to the Tigris.  
"One man, at the expense of his villa, is made  
"procurator of Asia; a second purchases Syria  
"with his wife's jewels; and a third laments,  
"that he has exchanged his paternal estate for  
"the government of Bithynia. In the audi-  
"chamber of Eutrophius, a large tablet is exposed  
"to public view, which marks the respective  
"prices of the provinces. The different value  
"of Pontus, of Galatia, of Lydia, is accurately  
"distinguished. Lydia may be obtained for so  
"many thousand pieces of gold; but the splendour  
"of Phrygia will require a more considerable sum.  
"The emench wishes to obliterate, by the general  
"allegiance, his personal ignominy; and as he has

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"been sold himself, he is desirous of selling the  
 "rest of mankind. In the eager contention, the  
 "balance, which contains the fate and fortunes  
 "of the provinces, often trembles on the beam;  
 "and till one of the scales is inclined, by a supe-  
 "rior weight, the mind of the impartial judge  
 "remains in anxious suspense." Such (con-  
 "tinues the indignant poet) "are the fruits of  
 "Roman valour, of the defeat of Antiochus,  
 "and of the triumph of Pompey." This venal  
 prostitution of public honours secured the impu-  
 "nity of future crimes; but the riches, which  
 Eutropius derived from confiscation, were already  
 stained with injustice; since it was decent to  
 accuse, and to condemn, the proprietors of the  
 wealth which he was impatient to confiscate.  
 Some noble blood was shed by the hand of the  
 executioner; and the most inhospitable extremi-  
 ties of the empire were filled with innocent and  
 illustrious exiles. Among the generals and com-  
 mands of the East, Abundantius\* had reason to  
 dread the first effects of the resentment of Eutro-  
 pius. He had been guilty of the unpardonable

Thus is  
 Abundantius  
 punished.

\* *Abundantius* is a name of Greek origin.

*Abundantius* is a Greek name, from *abundant*.

*Vergil*, *Æt. in geminis* *ant. p. 100* *l. 100*.

*Caesar* (i. 104-105) has carefully distinguished the circumstances of the sale, that they all seem to allude to particular examples.

\* *Caesar* (i. 104-105) mentions the sale and exile of *Abundantius*, but could be said to quote the example of the artist, who made the first trial of the human bull, which is presented to *Phalaris*. See *Caesar*, i. 104. *Caesar*, i. 104. *Caesar*, i. 104. The difference of place is easily reconciled; but the relative authority of *Caesar* and *Caesar* (i. 104) must turn the scale in favour of *Caesar*.

crime of introducing that abject slave to the palace of Constantinople: and some degree of praise must be allowed to a powerful and ungrateful favourite, who was satisfied with the disgrace of his benefactor. Abundantius was stripped of his ample fortunes by an imperial rescript, and banished to Pitrys, on the Euxine, the last frontier of the Roman world; where he subsisted by the precarious mercy of the barbarians, till he could obtain, after the fall of Eutropius, a milder exile at Sidon in Phœnicia. The destruction of Timasius\* required a more serious and regular mode of attack. That great officer, the master-general of the armies of Theodasius, had signalized his valour by a decisive victory, which he obtained over the Goths of Thessaly; but he was too prone, after the example of his sovereign, to enjoy the luxury of peace, and to abandon his confidence to wicked and designing flatterers. Timasius had despised the public clamour, by promoting an infamous dependant to the command of a cohort; and he deserved to feel the ingratitude of Bargas, who was secretly instigated by the favourite to accuse his patron of a treasonable conspiracy. The general was arraigned before the tribunal of Arcadius himself; and the principal eunuch stood by the side of the throne

of Theodasius.

\* See the account given of the history of Eutropius, but given a very unflattering picture of Timasius. The account of his success, the judgment, &c. is perfectly agreeable to the picture of a virtuous and prudent man. See Zosimus l. vi. p. 288, 289. An. I was almost tempted to give the account of a great traitor, (Felling's Works, vol. ix. p. 42. An. 400, 411, &c.) which may be considered as the history of a villain's nature.

to suggest the questions and answers of his sovereign. But as this form of trial might be deemed partial and arbitrary, the further inquiry into the crimes of Timotheus was delegated to Saturninus and Procopius: the former of consular rank, the latter still respected as the father-in-law of the emperor Valens. The appearances of a fair and legal proceeding were maintained by the blunt honesty of Procopius: and he yielded with reluctance to the obsequious dexterity of his colleague, who pronounced a sentence of condemnation against the unfortunate Timotheus. His immense riches were confiscated, in the name of the emperor, and for the benefit of the favourite: and he was doomed to perpetual exile at Oasis, a solitary spot in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya.\* Secluded from all human converse, the master-general of the Roman armies was lost for ever to the world: but the circumstances of his fate have been related in a various and contradictory manner. It is insinuated, that Eutropius despatched a private order for his secret execution:† It was reported, that, in attempting to escape from Oasis, he perished in the

\* The great Oasis was one of the spots in the north of Libya, watered with springs, and capable of producing wheat, barley, and palm-trees. It was about three days' journey from north to south, about half a day's to the east, and at the distance of about two days' march to the west of Aegyptus, on the Nile, *See* *Arrian*, *Description de l'Egypte*, p. 186, 187, 188. The barren desert which surrounds Oasis, *Strabo*, *Geograph.* 1, c. 16, p. 266, has suggested the hint of comparative fertility, and even the opinion of the *Arabs*, who call it *Haramah*, *the*

† *The* *Life of Claudius*, in *Eutrop.* 1, c. 186.

Monkish story, relating to the execution of Timotheus, is entirely unfounded in the person of the death of Timotheus.

thirst, of thirst and hunger: and that his dead body was found on the sands of Libya.\* It has been asserted, with more confidence, that his son Syngines, after successfully eluding the pursuit of the agents and emissaries of the court, collected a band of African robbers; that he rescued Timonius from the place of his exile; and that both the father and son, disappeared from the knowledge of mankind.\* But the ungrateful Burgess, instead of being suffered to possess the reward of guilt, was soon afterwards circumvented and destroyed, by the more powerful villainy of the minister himself, who retained sense and spirit enough to abhor the instrument of his own crimes.

The public hatred, and the despair of individuals, continually threatened, or seemed to threaten, the personal safety of Entropius; as well as of the numerous adherents, who were attached to his fortune, and had been perjured by his venal favour. For their mutual defence, he contrived the safeguard of a law, which violated every principle of humanity and justice. It is enacted, in the name and by the autho-

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A copy  
and original  
have been  
sent to A. B.  
MILL, Sept.  
8.

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., J. H. van Z. The *opere* from *opere* to *opus*, and *opus* to *opus*.

\* *Zenopsis* is a p. 204. You intended to indicate that this number was agreed by the friends of Education.

[illegible]



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ity, of Arcadius, that all those who shall conspire, either with subjects, or with strangers, against the lives of any of the persons whom the emperor considers as the members of his own body, shall be punished with death and confiscation. This species of fictitious and metaphorical treason is extended to protect not only the *illustrious* officers of the state and army, who are admitted into the sacred consistory, but likewise the principal domestics of the palace, the senators of Constantinople, the military commanders, and the civil magistrates of the provinces: a vague and indefinite list, which, under the successors of Constantine, included an obscure and numerous train of subordinate ministers. II. This extreme severity might perhaps be justified, had it been only directed to secure the representatives of the sovereign from any actual violence in the execution of their office. But the whole body of imperial dependants claimed a privilege, or rather impunity, which screened them, in the loosest moments of their lives, from the hasty, perhaps the justifiable, resentment of their fellow-citizens; and, by a strange perversion of the laws, the same degree of guilt and punishment was applied to a private quarrel, and to a deliberate conspiracy against the emperor and the empire. The edict of Arcadius most positively and most absurdly declares, that in such cases of treason, *thoughts* and *actions* ought to be punished with equal severity; that the knowledge of a mischievous intention, unless it be instantly revealed,

becomes equally criminal with the intention itself: and that those rash men, who shall presume to solicit the pardon of traitors, shall themselves be branded with public and perpetual infamy. III. "With regard to the sons of the traitors," (continued the emperor), "although they ought to share the punishment, since they will probably imitate the guilt of their parents; yet, by the special effect of our imperial lenity, we grant them their lives: but, at the same time, we declare them incapable of inheriting, either on the father's or on the mother's side, or of receiving any gift or legacy, from the testament either of kinsmen or of strangers. Stigmatized with hereditary infamy, excluded from the hopes of honours or fortune, let them endure the pangs of poverty and contempt, till they shall consider life as a calamity, and death as a comfort and relief." In such words, so well adapted to insult the feelings of mankind, did the emperor, or rather his favourite eunuch, applaud the moderation of a law, which transferred the same unjust and inhuman penalties to the children of all those who had seconded, or who had not disclosed, these fictitious conspiracies. Some of the noblest re-

<sup>a</sup> Barabas is described a single and naked executioner, without any sign of approbation or disapprobation. For this opinion, says Bollandus, he is now standing in bath. For my own part, I confess the current History, (Hieronim. *Ann. Chri.* l. vi. p. 411.) I must approve the story of Barabas, but as precise I should incline to the sentiment of Bollandus. Yet Barabas was greatly moved by the lawyers of Caligula and Nero, and Barabas was indirectly guilty of the murder of the victims de Thina.

Rebellion  
of Theod.  
694, A. D.  
390.

gulations of Roman jurisprudence have been suffered to expire: but this edict, a convenient and forcible engine of ministerial tyranny, was carefully inserted in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian; and the same maxims have been revived in modern ages, to protect the electors of Germany, and the cardinals of the church of Rome.\*

Yet these sanguinary laws, which spread terror among a disarmed and dispirited people, were of too weak a texture to restrain the bold enterprise of Tribigild<sup>6</sup> the Ostrogoth. The colony of that warlike nation, which had been planted by Theodosius in one of the most fertile districts of Phrygia,<sup>7</sup> impatiently compared the slow returns of laborious husbandry with the successful rapine and liberal rewards of Alaric; and their leader resented, as a personal affront, his own ungracious reception in the palace of Constantinople. A soft and wealthy province, in the heart of the empire, was astonished by the sound of war; and

\* Godolphin, *time* 41, p. 83. It is, however, supposed, that this law, so repugnant to the genius of Germanic freedom, has been subsequently added to the golden bull.

\* A supposed and circumstantial narrative (which he might have reserved for more important events) is bestowed by Boissard *l. v. p. 304-312* on the revolt of Tribigild and Gaisas. See likewise Boissard, *l. vi. c. 6*, and Scamozzi, *l. viii. c. 1*. The second book of Claudius against Eutropius, is a fine, though imperfect, piece of history.

\* Claudius, *On Eutropius*, *l. ii. 317-354* very extensively observes, that the ancient entire old nation of the Phrygians extended very far on every side; all their lands were cultivated by the colonies of the Cappadocians of Thracia, of the Cilicians, and at last of the Goths. His description (*ll. 327-372*) of the fertility of Phrygia, and of the high rivers that produced gold, is just and picturesque.

the faithful vassal, who had been disregarded or oppressed, was again respected, as soon as he resumed the hostile character of a barbarian. The vineyards and fruitful fields, between the rapid Marsyas and the winding Meander,<sup>a</sup> were consumed with fire; the decayed walls of the city crumbled into dust, at the first stroke of an enemy; the trembling inhabitants escaped from a bloody massacre to the shores of the Hellespont; and a considerable part of Asia Minor was desolated by the rebellion of Tribigild. His rapid progress was checked by the resistance of the peasants of Pamphylia; and the Ostragoths, attacked in a narrow pass, between the city of Selga,<sup>b</sup> a deep morass, and the craggy cliffs of Mount Taurus, were defeated with the loss of their bravest troops. But the spirit of their chief was not daunted by misfortune; and his army was continually recruited by swarms of barbarians and outlaws, who were desirous of exercising the profession of robbery, under the more honourable names of war and conquest. The rumours of the success of Tribigild might for some time be suppressed by fear, or disguised by flat-

<sup>a</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis*, l. i. p. 11, 12, edit. Hutchinson. Strabo, l. xlii. p. 863, edit. Anon. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 1. Claudius compares the junction of the Marsyas and Meander to that of the Saron and the Ilissus; with this difference, however, that the smaller of the Phrygian river is not overwhelmed, but retained, by the larger.

<sup>b</sup> Selga, a colony of the Lacedæmonians, had formerly numbered twenty thousand citizens; but in the age of Zosimus it was reduced to a village, or small town. See Collatius, *Geograph. Ecclæ. Ann.* ii. p. 111.

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tery; yet they gradually alarmed both the court and the capital. Every misfortune was exaggerated in dark and doubtful hints; and the future designs of the rebels became the subject of anxious conjecture. Whenever Tribigild advanced into the inland country, the Romans were inclined to suppose that he meditated the passage of Mount Taurus, and the invasion of Syria. If he descended towards the sea, they imputed, and perhaps suggested, to the Gothic chief, the more dangerous project of arming a fleet in the harbours of Ionia, and of extending his depredations along the maritime coast, from the mouth of the Nile to the port of Constantinople. The approach of danger, and the obstinacy of Tribigild, who refused all terms of accommodation, compelled Eutropius to summon a council of war.\* After claiming for himself the privilege of a veteran soldier, the eunuch intrusted the guard of Thrace and the Hellespont to Gainas the Goth; and the command of the Asiatic army to his favourite Leo, two generals, who differently, but effectually, promoted the cause of the rebels. Leo, who, from the bulk of his body,

\* The council of Eutropius, so Claudian, may be compared to that of Phalaris in the fourth satire of Juvenal. The principal members of the Roman senate, Juvenal promises, had taken some sort of alarm; but soon a riot, it would seem, a tumult, broke out. The language of their original passion (through their want of dignity) and their rising conversation about trifles, dances, &c. is made still more ridiculous by the importance of the debate.

† Claudian (l. ii. 1176-1211) has blended Leo with Armar and Zenobius, in their respective languages, confounding his character. (l. 1176, 1211.)

and the dulness of his mind, was surnamed the Ajax of the East, had deserted his original trade, of a woollcomber, to exercise, with much less skill and success, the military profession: and his uncertain operations were capriciously framed and executed, with an ignorance of real difficulties, and a timorous neglect of every favourable opportunity. The rashness of the Ostrogoths had drawn them into a disadvantageous position between the rivers Melas and Euxymedon, where they were almost besieged by the peasants of Pamphylia; but the arrival of an imperial army, instead of completing their destruction, afforded the means of safety and victory. Tribigild surprised the unguarded camp of the Romans, in the darkness of the night; seduced the faith of the greater part of the barbarian auxiliaries, and dissipated, without much effort, the troops, which had been corrupted by the relaxation of discipline, and the luxury of the capital. The discontent of Gainas, who had so boldly contrived and executed the death of Rufinus, was irritated by the fortune of his unworthy successor; he accused his own dishonourable patience under the servile reign of an eunuch; and the ambitious Goth was convicted, at least in the public opinion, of secretly fomenting the revolt of Tribigild, with whom he was connected by a domestic, as well as by a national, alliance.\* When Gainas passed

\* The conspiracy of Gainas and Tribigild, which is alluded to by the Greek Historians, had not reached the ears of Claudius, who attributes the ruin of the Ostrogoths to his own martial spirit, and the advice of his wife.



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the Hellespont, to unite under his standard the remains of the Asiatic troops, he skilfully adapted his motions to the wishes of the Ostrogoths; abandoning, by his retreat, the country which they desired to invade; or facilitating, by his approach, the desertion of the barbarian auxiliaries. To the imperial court he repeatedly magnified the valour, the genius, the inexhaustible resources of *Trifigild*; confessed his own inability to prosecute the war; and extorted the permission of negotiating with his invincible adversary. The conditions of peace were dictated by the haughty rebel; and the peremptory demand of the head of *Eutropius*, revealed the author and the design of this hostile conspiracy.

Fall of Eutropius,  
A. D. 398.

The bold satirist, who has indulged his discontent by the partial and passionate censure of the Christian emperors, violates the dignity, rather than the truth, of history, by comparing the son of *Theodosius* to one of those harmless and simple animals, who scarcely feel that they are the property of their shepherd. Two passions, however, fear and conjugal affection, awakened the languid soul of *Arcadius*; he was terrified by the threats of a victorious barbarian; and he yielded to the tender eloquence of his wife *Eudoxia*, who, with a flood of artificial tears, presenting her infant children to their father, implored his justice for some real or imaginary insult,\* which she

\* This anecdote, which *Philostorgius* alone has preserved, is, as *de Guignes* and *Gieseler* have observed, p. 441-442, is curious and impertinent; and it seems to represent the revolt of the Goths with the secret language of the palace.

imputed to the audacious eunuch. The emperor's hand was directed to sign the condemnation of Eutropius; the magic spell, which during four years had bound the prince and the people, was instantly dissolved; and the acclamations, that so lately hailed the merit and fortune of the favourite, were converted into the clamours of the soldiers and people, who reproached his crimes, and pressed his immediate execution. In this hour of distress and despair, his only refuge was in the sanctuary of the church, whose privileges he had wisely, or profanely, attempted to circumscribe: and the most eloquent of the saints, John Chrysostom, enjoyed the triumph of protecting a prostrate minister, whose choice had raised him to the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople. The archbishop, ascending the pulpit of the cathedral, that he might be distinctly seen and heard by an innumerable crowd of either sex and of every age, pronounced a reasonable and pathetic discourse on the forgiveness of injuries, and the instability of human greatness. The agonies of the pale and affrighted wretch who lay grovelling under the table of the altar, exhibited a solemn and instructive spectacle; and the orator, who was afterwards accused of insulting the misfortunes of Eutropius, laboured to excite the contempt, that he might assuage the fury, of the people.\* The powers of humanity,

\* See the Homily of Chrysostom, tom. iii. p. 381-384, of which the second is particularly beautiful. See also, L. vi. c. 3, of the same, L. vii. c. 3. Montfaucon on his life of Chrysostom, tom. xii. p. 125. He has lately supposed that Theophilus was actually in Constantinople, and

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of superstition, and of eloquence, prevailed. The empress Eudoxia was restrained, by her own prejudices, or by those of her subjects, from violating the sanctuary of the church; and Eutropius was tempted to capitulate, by the milder arts of persuasion, and by an oath, that his life should be spared.\* Careless of the dignity of their sovereign, the new ministers of the palace immediately published an edict, to declare, that his late favourite had disgraced the names of consul and patrician, to abolish his statutes, to confiscate his wealth, and to inflict a perpetual exile in the island of Cyprus.† A despicable and decrepid eunuch could no longer alarm the fears of his enemies; nor was he capable of enjoying what yet remained, the comforts of peace, of solitude, and of a happy climate. But their implacable revenge still envied him the last moments of a miserable life, and Eutropius had no sooner

that he commanded the soldiers who were ordered to seize Eutropius. Evens Claudian, a pagan poet, *Oppidit ad l. m. in Eutropio*, 21, has mentioned the flight of the eunuch to the sanctuary.

*Perpetratæque pœne humanæ protectione ad arces  
Ritusque locæ vocis trahente arces.*

\* Chrysostom, in another homily, *tom. iii. p. 226*, asserts in detail, that Eutropius would not have been taken, had he not deserted the church. *Evans. ii. v. p. 313*; on the contrary, however, that his enemies forced him *effragantibus* doors from the sanctuary. Yet the promise is an evidence of some frailty; and the strong assurance of Claudian, *Oppidit ad l. ii. 40*, †

*Ipse timor eutropio non forent arces.*

may be considered as an instance of some promise.

† *Exp. Theod. l. ix. tit. iii. leg. 11.* The date of this law, *cl. 11. A. D. 393* is uncertain and wrong; since the fall of Eutropius could not happen till the autumn of the same year. See Tillamont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, *tom. vi. p. 786*.

touch'd the shores of Cyprus, than he was hastily recalled. The vain hope of eluding, by a change of place, the obligation of an oath, engaged the emperor to transfer the scene of his trial and execution, from Constantinople to the adjacent suburb of Chalcedon. The consul Aurelian pronounced the sentence; and the motives of that sentence expose the jurisprudence of a despotic government. The crimes which Eutropius had committed against the people, might have justified his death: but he was found guilty of harneſsing to his chariot the *sacred animals*, who, from their breed, or colour, were reserved for the use of the emperor alone.\*

While this domestic revolution was transacted, Gainas† openly revolted from his allegiance; united his forces, at Thyatira in Lydia, with those of Tribigild; and still maintained his superior ascendancy over the rebellious leader of the Ostrogoths. The confederate armies advanced, without resistance, to the straits of the Hellespont, and the Bosphorus; and Arcadius was instructed to prevent the loss of his Asiatic dominions, by resigning his authority and his person to the faith of the Iustarians. The church of the holy martyr Euphemia, situate on a lofty eminence near Chalcedon,‡ was chosen for the

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Conspiracy  
and fall of  
Gainas.  
A. D. 400.

\* Zonaras, l. v. p. 314. — Eusebius, h. e. v. c.

† Zonaras, c. 19. p. 314—315; Sozomen, l. v. c. 11; Socrates, l. vi. c. 8; and Theodoret, l. v. c. 23. They represent, though with some various affirmations, the conspiracy, defeat, and death of Gainas.

‡ Comp. Eusebius, *supra*, in the expression of Zonaras, *loc. cit.*, l. v. p. 314, who just correctly gives the authentic language of the Christian.

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place of the interview. Gainas bowed, with reverence, at the feet of the emperor, whilst he required the sacrifice of Aurelianus and Saturninus, two ministers of consular rank; and their naked necks were exposed, by the haughty rebel, to the edge of the sword, till he condescended to grant them a precarious and disgraceful respite. The Goths, according to the terms of the agreement, were immediately transported from Asia into Europe; and their victorious chief, who accepted the title of master-general of the Roman armies, soon filled Constantinople with his troops, and distributed among his dependants, the honours and rewards of the empire. In his early youth, Gainas had passed the Danube as a suppliant, and a fugitive: his elevation had been the work of valour and fortune; and his indiscreet, or perfidious, conduct, was the cause of his rapid downfall. Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the archbishop, he importunately claimed, for his Arian sectaries, the possession of a peculiar church; and the pride of the catholics was offended by the public toleration of heresy.<sup>2</sup> Every quarter of Constantinople was filled with tumult and disorder; and the barbarians gazed

Christians. Hagiograph describes (l. 11, v. 3) the situation, architecture, extent, and situation of that celebrated church, in which the general council of Constantinople was afterwards held.

<sup>2</sup> The gross dissensions of the eastern, which do not appear in his own writings, are strongly urged by Theodoret; but less so, inasmuch that they were successfully, is observed by facts. Tillemont *l'hist. des empereurs*, tom. v. 385 has discovered, that the emperor, to satisfy the religious demands of Gainas, was obliged to build the plan of the church of the Apostles.

with such ardour on the rich shops of the jewellers, and the tables of the bankers, which were covered with gold and silver, that it was judged prudent to remove these dangerous temptations from their sight. They resented the injurious precaution; and some alarming attempts were made, during the night, to attack and destroy with fire the imperial palace.\* In this state of mutual and suspicious hostility, the guards, and the people of Constantinople, shut the gates, and rose in arms to prevent, or to punish, the conspiracy of the Goths. During the absence of Gainas, his troops were surprised and oppressed; seven thousand barbarians perished in this bloody massacre. In the fury of the pursuit, the catholics uncovered the roof, and continued to throw down flaming logs of wood, till they overwhelmed their adversaries, who had retreated to the church or conventicle of the Arians. Gainas was either innocent of the design, or too confident of his success: he was astonished by the intelligence, that the flower of his army had been ingloriously destroyed; that he himself was declared a public enemy; and that his countryman, Fravitta, a brave and loyal confederate, had assumed the management of the war by sea and land. The enterprises of the rebel, against the cities of Thrace, were encountered by a firm and well-ordered defence: his hungry soldiers were soon reduced to the grass that grew on the margin of

\* The systematical historians, who sometimes guide, and sometimes follow, the public opinion, most confidently assert that the gates of Constantinople were guarded by legions of angels.



CHAP. the fortifications; and Gainas, who vainly re-  
 XXXII. gretted the wealth and luxury of Asia, embraced  
 a desperate resolution of forcing the passage of  
 the Hellespont. He was destitute of vessels; but  
 the woods of the Chersonesus afforded materials  
 for rafts; and his intrepid barbarians did not  
 De. 21. refuse to trust themselves to the waves. But Fra-  
 vitta attentively watched the progress of their  
 undertaking. As soon as they had gained the  
 middle of the stream, the Roman galleys,\* im-  
 pelled by the full force, of sails, of the current,  
 and of a favourable wind, rushed forwards in  
 compact order, and with irresistible weight; and  
 the Hellespont was covered with the fragments of  
 the Gothic ships wreck. After the destruction of  
 his hopes, and the loss of many thousands of his  
 bravest soldiers, Gainas, who could no longer  
 aspire to govern, or to subdue, the Romans,  
 determined to resume the independence of a sa-  
 vage life. A light and active body of barbarian  
 horse, disengaged from their infantry and baggage,  
 might perform, in eight or ten days, a march of  
 three hundred miles from the Hellespont to the  
 Danube;† the garrisons of that important front-

\* Zosimus II. i. p. 512, mentions these galleys by the name of *Liburnæ*, and observes, that they were so well provided, without explaining the difference between them, as the vessels were they were, and that they were fit machines in respect to the weapons, which had been long known. Yet he immediately concludes, from the testimony of Polybius, that galleys of a still larger size had been constructed in the Persian wars. Even the establishment of the Roman empire over the Mediterranean, the success of so many large ships of war had possibly been anticipated, and at length forgotten.

† Zosimus, *l. c.* p. 51-53, 55-56, proceeds from Gainas, through the *Madagadris*, to the Danube, in about those days. The war

tier had been gradually annihilated; the river, in the month of December, would be deeply frozen; and the unbounded prospect of Scythia was opened to the ambition of Gaius. This design was secretly communicated to the national troops, who devoted themselves to the fortunes of their leader; and before the signal of departure was given, a great number of provincial auxiliaries, whom he suspected of an attachment to their native country, were perfidiously massacred. The Goths advanced, by rapid marches, through the plains of Thence; and they were soon delivered from the fear of a pursuit, by the vanity of Eravitta, who, instead of extinguishing the war, listened to enjoy the popular applause, and to assume the peaceful honours of the consulship. But a formidable ally appeared in arms to vindicate the majesty of the empire, and to guard the peace and liberty of Scythia.\* The superior forces of Uldin, king of the Huns, opposed the progress of Gaius; an hostile and ruined country prohibited his retreat; he disdained to capitulate; and after repeatedly attempting to cut his way through the ranks of the

in the train of an English ambassador, whose baggage consisted of money and weapons. That devoted traveller had the luck of escaping without any subsequent harm.

\* The retreat of Eravitta, who actually leads Gaius beyond the Danube, must be corrected by the testimony of Rutilius and Strabo, that he was killed by Pharus; and by the precise and authentic dates of the Antonines, or *Fasti Consulari*, p. 202. The word *clausura* of the Heliopont is fixed to the month April; the month of the extent of January (December 23); the kind of Gaius was brought to Constantinople the third of the month of January, (January 24) in the month July 2000.



CHAP. enemy, he was slain, with his desperate followers,  
XXXII. in the field of battle. Eleven days after the  
A. D. 401. naval victory of the Hellespont, the head of  
January 2. Gainas, the inestimable gift of the conqueror, was  
received at Constantinople, with the most liberal  
expressions of gratitude; and the public deliver-  
ance was celebrated by festivals and illumina-  
tions. The triumphs of Arcadius became the  
subject of epic poems;<sup>a</sup> and the monarch, no  
longer oppressed by any hostile terrors, resigned  
himself to the mild and absolute dominion of his  
wife, the fair and artful Eudoxia, who has sul-  
lied her fame by the persecution of St. John  
Chrysostom.

Election  
and merit  
of Chry-  
sostom.  
A. D. 398.  
Feb. 26.

After the death of the indolent Nectarius, the  
successor of Gregory Nazianzen, the church of  
Constantinople was distracted by the ambition of  
rival candidates, who were not ashamed to solicit,  
with gold or flattery, the suffrage of the people,  
or of the favourite. On this occasion, Eutrophius  
seems to have deviated from his ordinary max-  
ims; and his uncorrupted judgment was deter-  
mined only by the superior merit of a stranger.  
In a late journey into the East, he had admired  
the sermons of John, a native and presbyter of  
Antioch, whose name has been distinguished by  
the epithet of Chrysostom, or the Golden Mouth.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Pausanias Relations acquired much fame by his poem on the  
Gaulish war, in which he had served. Near forty years afterwards,  
Antimachus wrote another poem on the same subject, in the presence  
of the emperor Theodosius. See Suetonius, l. vi. 4. 6.

<sup>b</sup> The sixth book of Socrates, the eighth of Sozomen, and the fifth  
of Theodoret, afford various and authentic materials for the life of  
John

A private order was despatched to the governor of Syria: and as the people might be unwilling to resign their favourite preacher, he was transported with speed and secrecy, in a post-chariot, from Antioch to Constantinople. The unanimous and unsolicited consent of the court, the clergy, and the people, ratified the choice of the minister: and, both as a saint and as an orator, the new archbishop surpassed the sanguine expectations of the public. Born of a noble and opulent family, in the capital of Syria, Chrysostom had been educated, by the care of a tender mother, under the tuition of the most skillful masters. He studied the art of rhetoric in the school of Libanius: and that celebrated sophist, who soon discovered the talents of his disciple, ingenuously confessed, that John would have deserved to succeed him, had he not been stolen away by the Christians. His piety soon disposed

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John Chrysostom. Besides these general notices, I have taken for my guides the four principal biographies of the saint. 1. The author of a partial and passionate Vindication of the Archbishop of Constantinople, composed in the form of a dialogue, and under the name of two ancient persons, Pelagius, bishop of Helenopolis, (Ptilimeneus, Mem. Eccles. tom. ii, p. 329-337). It is inserted among the works of Chrysostom, tom. xiii, p. 1-40, edn. Montanensis. 2. The moderate Erasmus, tom. iii, apud. var., p. 1231-1343, edit. Lond. Batl. His viridity and good sense were his own: his errors, in the country and state of ecclesiastical antiquity, were almost inevitable. 3. The sacred Theodoret, (Mem. Ecclesiastiques, tom. ii, p. 1-163, 271-335, &c. &c.), who supplies the lives of the saints with delightful pictures, and religious exhortations. 4. Father Maritain, who has perused these works with the earliest diligence of an officer, discovered several new passages, and again reviewed and composed the RR of Chrysostom, (Opera Chrysostomi, tom. xii, p. 37-177).

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him to receive the sacrament of baptism; to renounce the lucrative and honourable profession of the law, and to bury himself in the adjacent desert, where he subdued the lusts of the flesh by an austere penance of six years. His infirmities compelled him to return to the society of mankind; and the authority of Meletius devoted his talents to the service of the church: but in the midst of his family, and afterwards on the archiepiscopal throne, Chrysostom still persevered in the practice of the monastic virtues. The ample revenues, which his predecessors had consumed in pomp and luxury, he diligently applied to the establishment of hospitals; and the multitudes, who were supported by his charity, preferred the eloquent and edifying discourses of their archbishop, to the amusements of the theatre, or the circus. The monuments of that eloquence, which was admired near twenty years at Antioch and Constantinople, have been carefully preserved; and the possession of near one thousand sermons, or homilies, has authorized the critics of succeeding times to appreciate the genuine merit of Chrysostom. They unanimously attribute to the Christian orator, the free command of an elegant and copious language; the judgment to conceal the advantages which he derived

\* And am almost a stranger to the voluminous sermons of Chrysostom, I have given my employees in the best and fullest and most complete of the posthumous edition, *Patrologia*, (Paris, 1844), and *Desha's*, *Chrysostome*, *Trésor*, 1844, p. 374, per the greatest of the former is sometimes yielded by an excessive love of antiquity, and the great merit of the latter is always obscured by prudential considerations.

from the knowledge of rhetoric and philosophy; an inexhaustible fund of metaphors and similitudes, of ideas and images, to vary and illustrate the most familiar topics; the happy art of engaging the passions in the service of virtue; and of exposing the folly, as well as the turpitude, of vice, almost with the truth and spirit of a dramatic representation.

The pastoral labours of the archbishop of Constantinople provoked, and gradually united against him, two sorts of enemies: the aspiring clergy, who envied his success, and the obstinate sinners, who were offended by his reproofs. When Chrysostom thundered, from the pulpit of St. Sophia, against the degeneracy of the Christians, his shafts were spent among the crowd, without wounding, or even marking, the character of any individual. When he declaimed against the peculiar vices of the rich, poverty might obtain a transient consolation from his invectives; but the guilty were still sheltered by their numbers; and the reproof itself was discoloured by some ideas of superiority, and enjoyment. But as the pyramid rose towards the summit, it insensibly diminished to a point; and the magistrates, the ministers, the favourite eunuchs, the ladies of the court,\* the empress Eudoxia

His administration and defects, A. D. 398, 402.

\* The ladies of Constantinople distinguished themselves by their vanity, or their attachment to Chrysostom. These ladies and women without, Maria, Eudoxia, and Euphrosina, were the friends of the preacher. (Pallad. Histog. tom. iiii. p. 146.) It was supposable that they should neglect a preacher, who reproached their attachment to luxury by the ornaments of dress, their apparel, &c. (Pallad. p. 171.) Eudoxia, by civil laws, displaced in a more proper sense, the emperor the title of emperor. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 116.



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herself, had a much larger share of guilt, to divide among a smaller proportion of criminals. The personal applications of the audience were anticipated, or confirmed, by the testimony of their own consciences; and the intrepid preacher assumed the dangerous right of exposing both the offence, and the offender, to the public abhorrence. The secret resentment of the court encouraged the discontent of the clergy and monks of Constantinople, who were too hastily reformed by the fervent zeal of their archbishop. He had condemned, from the pulpit, the domestic females of the clergy of Constantinople, who, under the names of servants, or sisters, afforded a perpetual occasion either of sin, or of scandal. The silent and solitary nuns, who had secluded themselves from the world, were entitled to the warmest approbation of Chrysostom; but he despised and stigmatized, as the disgrace of their holy profession, the crowd of degenerate monks, who, from some unworthy motives of pleasure or profit, so frequently infested the streets of the capital. To the voice of persuasion, the archbishop was obliged to add the terrors of authority; and his ardour, in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was not always exempt from passion; nor was it always guided by prudence. Chrysostom was naturally of a choleric disposition.* Although he struggled, ac-

* Erasmus, and more especially Eusebius, have defined the real character of Chrysostom with a temperate and impartial freedom, very offensive to his blind admirers. These blunders lived in the

conform to the precepts of the gospel, to love his private enemies; he indulged himself in the privilege of hating the enemies of God, and of the church; and his sentiments were sometimes delivered with too much energy of countenance and expression. He still maintained, from some considerations of health, or abstinence, his former habit of taking his repasts alone; and this intemperate custom,* which his enemies imputed to pride, contributed, at least, to nourish the infirmity of a morose and unsocial humour. Separated from that familiar intercourse, which facilitates the knowledge and the despatch of business, he reposed an unsuspecting confidence in his deacon Serapion; and seldom applied his speculative knowledge of human nature to the particular characters, either of his dependants, or of his equals. Conscious of the purity of his intentions, and perhaps of the superiority of his genius, the archbishop of Constantinople extended the jurisdiction of the imperial city, that he might enlarge the sphere of his pastoral labours; and the conduct which the profane imputed to an ambitious motive, appeared to Chrysostom himself in the light of a sacred and

most commendable, when party violence was abated, and had decreased with every person intimately acquainted with the virtues and imperfections of the saint.

* Palladius (tom. viii. p. 40.) does very forcibly describe the author's habits. 1. He never passed away. 2. The weakness of his stomach required a peculiar diet. 3. Business, or study, or devotion, when kept him fasting till midnight. 4. He detested the noise and bustle of great societies. 5. He saved the expence for the use of the party. 6. He was apprehensive, in a capital like Constantinople, of the envy and reproach of partial innovations.

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indispensable duty. In his visitation through the Asiatic provinces, he deposed thirteen bishops of Lydia and Phrygia; and indelicately declared, that a deep corruption of simony and licentiousness had infected the whole episcopal order.* If these bishops were innocent, such a rash and unjust condemnation must excite a well-grounded discontent. If they were guilty, the numerous *homoines* of their guilt would soon discover, that their own safety depended on the ruin of the archbishop: whom they studied to represent as the tyrant of the eastern church.

Chrysostom is persecuted by the empress Eudoxia, A. D. 403.

This ecclesiastical conspiracy was managed by Theophilus,† archbishop of Alexandria, an active and ambitious prelate, who display'd the fruits of rapine in monuments of ostentation. His national dislike to the rising greatness of a city, which degraded him from the second, to the third rank, in the Christian world, was exasperated by some personal disputes with Chrysostom himself. By the private invitation of the empress, Theophilus landed at Constantinople, with a stout body of Egyptian mariners, to

* Chrysostom declares his free opinion, (*Hom. lx. tom. iii. de Act. Apostol.* p. 28.) that the number of bishops, who might be saved, was a very small proportion to those who would be damned.

† See Tillamont, *Mem. Eccles. alex.* xi. p. 441-200.

† I have purposely omitted the controversy which arose among the monks of Egypt, concerning Origenism and Antipneumatics; the dissimulation and violence of Theophilus; his artful management of the simplicity of Epiphanius; the prosecution and flight of the bishop of sail; Apollonius; the ambiguous support which they received at Constantinople from Chrysostom, &c. &c.

encounter the populace: and a train of dependant bishops, to secure, by their voices, the majority of a synod. The synod^{*} was convened in the suburb of Chalcedon, surnamed the *Oak*, where Rufinus had erected a stately church and monastery; and their proceedings were continued during fourteen days, or sessions. A bishop and a deacon attended the archbishop of Constantinople; but the frivolous or improbable nature of the forty-seven articles which they presented against him, may justly be considered as a fair and unexceptionable panegyric. Four successive summons were signified to Chrysostom; but he still refused to trust either his person, or his reputation, in the hands of his implacable enemies, who, prudently declining the examination of any particular charges, condemned his contumacious disobedience, and hastily pronounced a sentence of deposition. The synod of the *Oak* immediately addressed the emperor to ratify and execute their judgment, and charitably insinuated, that the penalties of treason might be inflicted on the audacious preacher, who had reviled, under the name of Jezebel, the empress Eudoxia herself. The archbishop was cruelly arrested, and conducted through the city, by one of the imperial messengers, who landed him, after a short navigation, near the entrance of the

^{*} Photius (p. 33. edit.) has preserved the original name of the synod of the *Oak*; which destroy the false assertion, that Chrysostom was condemned by no more than thirty-six bishops, of whom twenty-nine were Egyptians. Forty-five bishops subscribed his anathema. See Tillamont, Mem. Ecles. tom. II, p. 296.

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Regular
Councils at
Constantin-
ople.

Luxure; from whence, before the expiration of two days, he was gloriously recalled.

The first astonishment of his faithful people had been mute and passive: they suddenly rose with unanimous and irresistible fury. Theophilus escaped, but the promiscuous crowd of monks and Egyptian mariners were slaughtered without pity in the streets of Constantinople. A remarkable earthquake justified the interposition of heaven; the torrent of sedition rolled forwards to the gates of the palace; and the empress, agitated by fear or remorse, threw herself at the feet of Arcadius, and confessed, that the public safety could be purchased only by the restoration of Chrysostom. The Bosphorus was covered with innumerable vessels; the shores of Europe and Asia were profusely illuminated; and the acclamations of a victorious people accompanied, from the port to the cathedral, the triumph of the archbishop: who, too easily, consented to resume the exercise of his functions, before his sentence had been legally reversed by the authority of an ecclesiastical synod. Ignorant, or careless, of the impending danger, Chrysostom indulged his zeal; or perhaps his resentment; declaimed with peculiar asperity against female vices; and con-

¹ Palladius says, B. III. that if the people of Constantinople had found Theophilus, they would certainly have thrown him into the sea. Sozomen mentions B. VI. c. 131 a battle between the mob and the soldiers of Marcian, in which many wounds were given, and some lives were lost. The number of the wounded is counted only by the great Eusebius, B. v. c. 246; who acknowledges that Chrysostom had a singular talent to excite the illiterate multitude, as well as subjects, who by his sermons were converted.

denied the profane honours which were addressed, almost in the precincts of St. Sophia, to the statue of the emperors. His imprudence tempted his enemies to inflame the haughty spirit of Euloxia by reporting, or perhaps inventing, the famous exordium of a sermon, "Herodias is again furious; Herodias again dances: she once more requires the head of John:" an insolent allusion, which as a woman and a sovereign, it was impossible for her to forgive.* The short interval of a perilous truce was employed to concert more effectual measures for the disgrace and ruin of the archbishop. A numerous council of the eastern prelates, who were guided from a distance by the advice of Theophilus, confirmed the validity, without examining the justice, of the former sentence: and a detachment of barbarian troops was introduced into the city, to suppress the emotions of the people. On the vigil of Easter, the solemn administration of baptism was rudely interrupted by the soldiers, who alarmed the modesty of the naked catechumens, and violated, by their presence, the awful mysteries of the Christian worship. Arsacius occupied the church of St. Sophia, and the archiepiscopal throne. The catholics retreated to the baths of Constantine, and afterwards to the fields: where they were still pursued and insulted by the

* See Socratus, l. vi. c. 18; Socratus, l. vii. c. 38. Zonaras (l. x. p. 324, 327) mentions, in general terms, the hostile spirit of Euloxia. The history, which begins with those famous words, is preserved as epigram. Morfassin, tom. iii. p. 131. Tillamont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xi. p. 603.

CHAP. guards, the bishops, and the magistrates. The
 XXXII. fatal day of the second and final exile of Chrysostom was marked by the conflagration of the cathedral, of the senate-house, and of the adjacent buildings; and this calamity was imputed, without proof, but not without probability, to the despair of a persecuted faction.¹

Exile of
 Chrysos-
 tom, A. D.
 404, June
 20.

Cicero might claim some merit, if his voluntary banishment preserved the peace of the republic;² but the submission of Chrysostom was the indispensable duty of a Christian and a subject. Instead of listening to his humble prayer, that he might be permitted to reside at Cyzicus, or Nicomedia, the inflexible empress assigned for his exile the remote and desolate town of Cucusus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, in the Lesser Armenia. A secret hope was entertained, that the archbishop might perish in a difficult and dangerous march of seventy days, in the heat of summer, through the provinces of Asia Minor, where he was continually threatened by the hostile attacks of the Isaurians, and the more implacable fury of the monks. Yet Chrysostom arrived in safety at the place of his confinement; and the three years, which he spent at Cucusus, and the neighbouring town of Amisus, were the last and most glorious of his life. His character was consecrated by absence

¹ We might naturally expect some charge from Zosimus, lib. i. c. 30. 31; but it is remarkable enough, that it should be confirmed by Ferrarius, t. iii. c. 18, and the *Panctal Chronicle*, p. 267.

² He displays those species of reason (Part. *Beltrama* c. 13, 14) of the language of an orator and a politician.

sul persecution; the faults of his administration were not long remembered; but every tongue repeated the praises of his genius and virtue: and the respectful attention of the Christian world, was fixed on a desert spot among the mountains of Taurus. From that solitude, the archbishop, whose active mind was invigorated by misfortune, maintained a strict and frequent correspondence^a with the most distant provinces; exhorted the separate congregations of his faithful adherents to persevere in their allegiance; urged the destruction of the temples of Phœnicia, and the extirpation of heresy in the isle of Cyprus; extended his pastoral care to the missions of Persia and Scythia; negotiated, by his ambassadors, with the Roman pontiff, and the emperor Honorius; and boldly appealed, from a partial synod, to the supreme tribunal of a free and general council. The mind of the illustrious exile was still independent: but his captive body was exposed to the revenge of the oppressors, who continued to abuse the name and authority of Arcadius.^b An order was despatched for the

^a Two hundred and thirty-two of the epistles of Chrysostom are still extant. Others, from the 1st 378-384. They are addressed to a great variety of persons, and there is freedom of style, much superior to that of Clovis in his letters. The last-mentioned epistle contains a curious narrative of the dangers of his journey.

^b After the exile of Chrysostom, Theophilus published an anonymous evil-tempered volume against him, in which he perpetually repeats the gross accusations of his enemies, and charges him with heresy, immorality, &c. &c. In answer, that John Chrysostom had never heard his soul so abused by the devil, and wished that some further publication, adequate to the position of the arguments of his enemies, may be dictated at Nice. See Green, at the request of his friend

CHAP. instant removal of Chrysostom to the extreme
 XXXII. desert of Pityus: and his guards so faithfully
 obeyed their cruel instructions, that, before he
 reached the sea-coast of the Euxine, he expired
 His death, at Comana, in Pontus, in the sixtieth year of his
 A. D. 407, age. The succeeding generation acknowledged
 Sept. 13. his innocence and merit. The archbishops of
 the East, who might blush that their predecessors
 had been the enemies of Chrysostom, were gradu-
 ally disposed, by the firmness of the Roman
 pontiff, to restore the honour of that venerable
 name.¹ At the pious solicitation of the clergy
 and people of Constantinople, his relics, thirty
 years after his death, were transported from their
 obscure sepulchre to the royal city.² The em-
 peror Theodosius advanced to receive them as
 far as Chalcedone; and, falling prostrate on the
 coffin, implored, in the name of his guilty pa-
 rents, Arcadius and Eudoxia, the forgiveness of
 the injured saint.³

His relics
 transported
 to Constanti-
 nople,
 A. D. 438,
 Jan. 27.

¹ *Ambr. Theophilus*, translated this striking performance from Greek into Latin. See *Paroemiæ Hermetice Dilectæ*, p. 40. Capital. l. vi, c. 2, published by Biondini. Opera, tom. ii, p. 594, 596, 597.

² His name was inserted by his successor Atticus in the Dyptich of the church of Constantinople, A. D. 416. Ten years afterwards he was received as a saint. Cyril, who inherited the place, and the possession of his tomb, Theophilus, yielded with much reluctance. See *Facund. Hermite*, l. iv, c. 1. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. xiv, p. 217-223.

³ *Isidore*, l. vi, c. 41. *Theodoret*, l. vi, c. 56. This event reconstituted the Jesuites, who had hitherto refused to acknowledge his successors. During his lifetime, the Jesuites were respected by the exiles, as the true and orthodox continuation of Constantinople. Their obsequies gradually drew them to the brink of schism.

⁴ According to some accounts, Chrysostom, *Ambr. Eccles.* A. D. 408, N. D. 10, the emperor was forced to send a letter of exhortation and warning before the body of the deceased saint could be moved from Comana.

Yet a reasonable doubt may be entertained, whether any stain of hereditary guilt could be derived from Arcadius to his successor. Eudoxia was a young and beautiful woman, who indulged her passions, and despised her husband: Count John enjoyed, at least, the familiar confidence of the empress: and the public named him as the real father of Theodosius the younger.* The birth of a son was accepted, however, by the pious husband, as an event the most fortunate and honourable to himself, to his family, and to the eastern world: and the royal infant, by an unprecedented favour, was invested with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus. In less than four years afterwards, Eudoxia, in the bloom of youth, was destroyed by the consequences of a miscarriage; and this untimely death confounded the prophecy of a holy bishop,* who, amidst the universal joy, had ventured to forecast, that she should behold the long and auspicious reign of her glorious son. The catholics applauded the justice of heaven, which avenged the persecution of St. Chrysostom, and perhaps the emperor was

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The death
of Ayer-
dun,
A. D. 100,
May 1.

* *Reviews*, I, v, p. 114. The character of an empire should not be impeached without producing a witness who is extending, that the witness should write and live under a penalty, whose legitimacy be dared to attack. We must suppose that the society was a party that, publicly and not controlled by the regime. Voltaire (*Œuvres complètes*, t. 1, p. 114) is not wrong in finding the reputation of Guineas.

• *Murder of Gump*. His soul was transported by the radio which he had listened for the distribution of right people, trouble of that day. Was the witness before or how old, Charming, A. B. 101, N.Y. 11011, is usually written in Greek, or perhaps in English by a monk, who of old learned to dance.

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the only person who sincerely bewailed the loss of the haughty and rapacious Eudoxia. Such a domestic misfortune afflicted him more deeply than the public calamities of the East; the licentious excursions from Poudine to Palestine, of the Iaurian robbers, whose impunity accused the weakness of the government; and the earthquakes, the conflagrations, the famine, and the flights of locusts,¹ which the popular discontent was equally disposed to attribute to the incapacity of the monarch. At length, in the thirty-first year of his age, after a reign (if we may abuse that word) of thirteen years three months and fifteen days, Arcadius expired in the palace of Constantinople. It is impossible to delineate his character, since, in a period very copiously furnished with historical materials, it has not been possible to remark one action that properly belongs to the son of the great Theodosius.

His empire
passed to
his son.

The historian Procopius² has indeed illuminated the mind of the dying emperor with a ray of human prudence, or celestial wisdom. Arcadius considered, with anxious foresight, the helpless condition of his son Theodosius, who was no more than seven years of age, the dangerous factions of a minority, and the aspiring spirit of

¹ Pothoberg, l. vi. c. 8, and Godefray, *Diocet.* p. 357.

² *Justin Hist.* lib. v. c. 11, 120 describes in lively colours the regular and destructive march of the locusts, which spread a darkness between heaven and earth, over the land of Palestine. Scarcely had they departed (2522) as they left the Dead Sea, and partly hid the Mediterranean.

³ Procopius, de Bell. Persic. lib. v. c. 1, p. 81, ed. G. Lottin.

Jazdegerd, the Persian monarch. Instead of tempting the allegiance of an ambitious subject, by the participation of supreme power, he boldly appealed to the magnanimity of a king; and placed, by a solemn testament, the sceptre of the East in the hands of Jazdegerd himself. The royal guardian accepted and discharged this honourable trust with unexampled fidelity: and the infancy of Theodosius was protected by the arms and councils of Persia. Such is the singular narrative of Procopius; and his veracity is not disputed by Agathias,* while he presumes to dissent from his judgment, and to arraign the wisdom of a Christian emperor, who rashly, though so fortunately, committed his son and his dominions to the unknown faith of a stranger, a rival, and a lunatic. At the distance of one hundred and fifty years, this political question might be debated in the court of Justinian; but a prudent historian will refuse to examine the propriety, till he has ascertained the truth, of the testament of Avestinus. As it stands without a parallel in the history of the world, we may justly require, that it should be attested by the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporaries. The strange novelty of the event, which excites our distrust, must have attracted their notice; and their uni-

* Agathias, l. vi. p. 104, 105. Although he condemns the preference of the tradition, he admits that Theodosius was the first who had recourse to a written testament (ὡς καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, ἔχουσιν). His criticism was not shared by any contemporary authority; see Procopius and Agathias in full papers.

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stration of
Anthe-
mius,
A. D. 498.
415.

versal silence annihilates the vain traditions of the succeeding age.

The maxims of Roman jurisprudence, if they could be fairly transferred from private property to public dominion, would have adjudged to the emperor Honorius the guardianship of his nephew, till he had attained, at least, the fourteenth year of his age. But the weakness of Honorius, and the calamities of his reign, disqualified him from prosecuting this natural claim; and such was the absolute separation of the two monarchies, both in interest and affection, that Constantinople would have obeyed, with less reluctance, the orders of the Persian, than those of the Italian, court. Under a prince, whose weakness is disguised by the external signs of manhood and discretion, the most worthless favourites may secretly dispute the empire of the palace; and dictate to submissive provinces the commands of a master, whom they direct and despise. But the ministers of a child, who is incapable of arming them with the sanction of the royal name, must acquire and exercise an independent authority. The great officers of the state and army, who had been appointed before the death of Arcadius, formed an aristocracy, which might have inspired them with the idea of a free republic; and the government of the eastern empire was fortunately assumed by the prefect Anthemius,* who obtained, by his

* *Strabo*, l. vi. c. 1. Anthemius was the grandson of Philip, one of the ministers of Constantine, and the grandfather of the emperor Anthonius. After his return from the Persian embassy, he

superior abilities, a lasting ascendant over the minds of his equals. The safety of the young emperor proved the merit and integrity of Anthemius: and his prudent firmness sustained the force and reputation of an infant reign. Uldin, with a formidable host of barbarians, was encamped in the heart of Thrace: he proudly rejected all terms of accommodation: and pointing to the rising sun, declared to the Roman ambassadors, that the course of that planet should alone terminate the conquests of the Huns. But the desertion of his confederates, who were privately convinced of the justice and liberality of the imperial ministers, obliged Uldin to repass the Danube: the tribe of the Scyri, which composed his rear-guard, was almost extirpated: and many thousand captives were dispersed to cultivate, with servile labour, the fields of Asia.* In the midst of the public triumph, Constantinople was protected by a strong inclosure of new and more extensive walls; the same vigilant care was applied to restore the fortifications of the Illyrian cities: and a plan was judiciously conceived, which, in the space of seven years, would have secured the communal of the Danube, by establishing on that river a perpetual fleet of two hundred and fifty armed vessels.*

was appointed consul and praetorian prefect of the East, in the year 404; and held the prefecture about five years. See his honors and praises in Godefroy, *Cost. Theod.* tom. vi, p. 220. Tillemont, *Hist. des Rom.* tom. vi, p. 1, &c.

* *Symeon*, l. iv, c. 3. He saw some Scyri at work near Mount Olympus, in Illyria, and thencebore the vain hope that those expenses were the last of the nation.

* *Cost. Theod.* l. vii, tit. xvii; l. xv, tit. i, leg. 42.

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Character
and admin-
istration
of Pul-
cheria.
A.D. 414-
443.

But the Romans had so long been accustomed to the authority of a monarch, that the first, even among the females, of the imperial family, who displayed any courage or capacity, was permitted to ascend the vacant throne of Theodosius. His sister Pulcheria,* who was only two years older than himself, received, at the age of sixteen, the title of *Augusta*; and though her favour might be sometimes clouded by caprice or intrigue, she continued to govern the eastern empire near forty years: during the long minority of her brother, and, after his death, in her own name, and in the name of Marcian, her nominal husband. From a motive, either of prudence, or religion, she embraced a life of celibacy; and notwithstanding some aspersions on the chastity of Pulcheria,† this resolution, which she communicated to her sisters Arcadia and Marina, was celebrated by the Christian world, as the sublime effort of heroic piety. In the presence of the clergy and people, the three daughters of Arcadius‡ dedicated their virginity to God: and the obligation of their solemn vow

* *See* *Constantine* lib. III. ch. 17. ch. 18. with a marginal note, *See* *the* *Life* *of* *Pulcheria*, *lib. II. c. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

† *See* *the* *Life* *of* *Pulcheria*, *lib. II. c. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

‡ *See* *the* *Life* *of* *Pulcheria*, *lib. II. c. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

was inscribed on a tablet of gold and gems; which they publicly offered in the great church of Constantinople. Their palace was converted into a monastery; and all males, except the guides of their conscience, the saints who had forgotten the distinction of sexes, were scrupulously excluded from the holy threshold. Pulcheria, her two sisters, and a chosen train of favourite damsels, formed a religious community: they renounced the vanity of dress; interrupted, by frequent fasts, their simple and frugal diet; allotted a portion of their time to works of embroidery; and devoted several hours of the day and night to the exercises of prayer and psalmody. The piety of a Christian virgin was adorned by the zeal and liberality of an empress. Ecclesiastical history describes the splendid churches, which were built at the expence of Pulcheria, in all the provinces of the East; her charitable foundations for the benefit of strangers and the poor; the ample donations which she assigned for the perpetual maintenance of monastic societies; and the active severity with which she laboured to suppress the opposite heresies of Nestorians and Eutyches. Such virtues were supposed to deserve the peculiar favour of the Deity: and the relics of martyrs, as well as the knowledge of future events, were communicated in visions and revelations to the imperial saint.*

* She was immediately, by repeated dreams, informed of the place where the relics of the three martyrs had been buried. The ground had accordingly belonged to the house and garden of a woman of Constantinople.

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Yet the devotion of Pulcheria never diverted her indefatigable attention from temporal affairs; and she alone, among all the descendants of the great Theodosius, appears to have inherited any share of his manly spirit and abilities. The elegant and familiar use which she had acquired, both of the Greek and Latin languages, was readily applied to the various occasions of speaking, or writing, on public business; her deliberations were maturely weighed; her actions were prompt and decisive; and, while she moved without noise or ostentation the wheel of government, she discreetly attributed to the genius of the emperor, the long tranquillity of his reign. In the last years of his peaceful life, Europe was indeed afflicted by the arms of Attila; but the more extensive provinces of Asia still continued to enjoy a profound and permanent repose. Theodosius the younger was never reduced to the disgraceful necessity of encountering and punishing a rebellious subject: and since we cannot applaud the vigour, some praise may be due to the mildness, and prosperity, of the administration of Pulcheria.

Education
and character of
Theodosius the
younger.

The Roman world was deeply interested in the education of its master. A regular course of study and exercise was judiciously instituted; of

epic, in a monastery of Macedonian monks, and in a church of St. Thyrsus, erected by Constantine, who was consul A. D. 397; and the memory of the games was almost obliterated. Notwithstanding the charitable wishes of Dr. Jortin, (*Hemelia*, tom. iv. p. 334), it is not easy to suppose Pulcheria of more than five or six years of age, when she was more than five and thirty years of age.

the military exercises of riding, and shooting with the bow; of the liberal studies of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy: the most skilful masters of the East ambitiously solicited the attention of their royal pupil; and several noble youths were introduced into the palace, to animate his diligence by the emulation of friendship. Pulcheria alone discharged the important task of instructing her brother in the arts of government; but her precepts may excite some suspicion of the extent of her capacity, or of the purity of her intentions. She taught him to maintain a grave and majestic deportment; to walk, to hold his robes, to seat himself on his throne, in a manner worthy of a great prince; to abstain from laughter; to listen with condescension; to return suitable answers; to assume, by turns, a serious or a placid countenance; in a word, to represent with grace and dignity the external figure of a Roman emperor. But Theodosius was never excited to support the weight and glory of an illustrious name, and instead of aspiring to imitate his ancestors, he degenerated (if we may

< There is a remarkable difference between the two ecclesiastical historians, who in general bear so close a resemblance. Sozomen (l. ii. c. 11) ascribes to Pulcheria the government of the empire, and the education of her brother; whilst he severely reprehends to posterity, though he effectually disclaims all hopes of female or female influence, an elaborate progress on the empire, and continually improves the merits of his sister. (l. iii. c. 27. 47). Plutarch (l. ii. c. 11) expresses the influence of Pulcheria in gentle and mostly religious terms. Theodoret (l. ii. c. 11) gives a true account of Theodosius and I have followed the example of Sozomen (l. ii. c. 11) in particularly those points which the Eastern Church.

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presume to measure the degrees of incapacity) below the weakness of his father and his uncle. Arcadius and Honorius had been assisted by the guardian care of a parent, whose lessons were enforced by his authority, and example. But the unfortunate prince, who is born in the purple, must remain a stranger to the voice of truth; and the son of Arcadius was condemned to pass his perpetual infancy, encompassed only by a servile train of women and eunuchs. The ample leisure, which he acquired by neglecting the essential duties of his high office, was filled by idle amusements, and unprofitable studies. Hunting was the only active pursuit that could tempt him beyond the limits of the palace; but he most assiduously laboured, sometimes by the light of a midnight lamp, in the mechanic occupations of painting and carving; and the elegance with which he transcribed religious books, entitled the Roman emperor to the singular epithet of *Calligrapher*, or a fair writer. Separated from the world by an impenetrable veil, Theodosius trusted the persons whom he loved; he loved those who were accustomed to amuse and flatter his indolence; and as he never perused the papers that were presented for the royal signature, the acts of injustice the most repugnant to his character, were frequently perpetrated in his name. The emperor himself was chaste, temperate, liberal, and merciful; but these qualities, which can only deserve the name of virtues, when they are supported by courage, and

regulated by discretion, were seldom beneficial, and they sometimes proved mischievous, to mankind. His mind, enervated by a royal education, was oppressed and degraded by abject superstition: he fasted, he sung psalms, he blindly accepted the miracles and doctrines, with which his faith was continually nourished. Theodosius devoutly worshipped the dead and living saints of the catholic church; and he once refused to eat, till an insolent monk, who had cast an excommunication on his sovereign, condescended to heal the spiritual wound which he had inflicted.*

The story of a fair and virtuous maiden, exalted from a private condition to the imperial throne, might be deemed an incredible romance, if such a romance had not been verified in the marriage of Theodosius. The celebrated Athenais^b was educated by her father Leontius in the religion and sciences of the Greeks; and so advantageous was the opinion which the Athenian philosopher entertained of his contemporaries,

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Character
and adven-
tures of
the em-
press Eu-
doxia,
A. D. 417-
450.

* Theodoret, l. v. c. 22. The bishop of Cyrrhus, one of the first men of his age for his learning and piety, apostatized the obedience of Theodosius to the divine laws.

^b Sozomen l. vi. c. 35 mentions her name, Athenais, the daughter of Leontius, an Athenian sophist, her husband, marriage, and poetical genius. The most ancient account of her history is in John Malala, (part ii. p. 30, 31, edit. Paris, 1733), and in the Pseudo-Chrysostom, (p. 311, 312). These authors had probably seen original pictures of the empress Eudoxia. The modern Greeks, Zonaras, Oudinus, &c. have degraded the story rather than the talent, of writers. From Nicephorus, indeed, I have ventured to assume her age. The story of a romance would not have suggested, that Athenais was near twenty-eight years old when she obtained the hand of a young emperor.

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that he divided his patrimony between his two sons, bequeathing to his daughter a small legacy of one hundred pieces of gold, in the lively confidence that her beauty and merit would be a sufficient portion. The jealousy and avarice of her brothers soon compelled Athenais to seek a refuge at Constantinople: and, with some hopes, either of justice or favour, to throw herself at the feet of Pulcheria. That sagacious princess listened to her eloquent complaints; and secretly destined the daughter of the philosopher Leontius for the future wife of the emperor of the East, who had now attained the twentieth year of his age. She easily excited the curiosity of her brother, by an interesting picture of the charms of Athenais; large eyes, a well-proportioned nose, a fair complexion, golden locks, a slender person, a graceful demeanour, an understanding improved by study, and a virtue tried by distress. Theodosius, concealed behind a curtain in the apartment of his sister, was permitted to behold the Athenian virgin: the modest youth immediately declared his pure and honourable love; and the royal nuptials were celebrated amidst the acclamations of the capital and the provinces. Athenais, who was easily persuaded to renounce the errors of paganism, received at her baptism the Christian name of Eudocia: but the cautious Pulcheria withheld the title of Augusta, till the wife of Theodosius had approved her fruitfulness by the birth of a daughter, who espoused, fifteen years afterwards, the emperor of the West. The

brothers of Eulocia obeyed, with some anxiety, her imperial summons: but as she could easily forgive their fortunate unkindness, she indulged the tenderness, or perhaps the vanity, of a sister, by promoting them to the rank of consuls and prefects. In the luxury of the palace, she still cultivated those ingenious arts, which had contributed to her greatness: and wisely dedicated her talents to the honour of religion, and of her husband. Eulocia composed a poetical paraphrase of the first eight books of the Old Testament, and of the prophecies of Daniel and Zachariah: a cento of the verses of Homer, applied to the life and miracles of Christ, the legend of St. Cyprian, and a panegyric on the Persian victories of Theodosius: and her writings, which were applauded by a servile and superstitious age, have not been disdained by the candour of impartial criticism.* The fondness of the emperor was not abated by time and possession: and Eulocia, after the marriage of her daughter, was permitted to discharge her grateful vows by a solemn pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Her ostentatious progress through the East may seem inconsistent with the spirit of Christian humility: she pronounced, from a throne of gold and gems, an eloquent oration to the senate of Antioch, declared

* Socratus, l. vii. c. 24. Photius, p. 413-420. The Homeric cento is still extant, and has been repeatedly printed; but the claim of Eulocia to that singular performance is disputed by the critics. See Fabricius, Bibliotheca Græc. tom. i. p. 557. The *Seneca*, a miscellaneous anthology of history and fable, was compiled by another empress of the name of Eulocia, who lived in the eleventh century: and the work is still extant in manuscript.

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Continued

her royal intention of enlarging the walls of the city, bestowed a donative of two hundred pounds of gold to restore the public baths, and accepted the statues, which were decreed by the gratitude of Antioch. In the Holy Land, her aims and pious foundations exceeded the munificence of the great Helena; and though the public treasure might be impoverished by this excessive liberality, she enjoyed the conscious satisfaction of returning to Constantinople with the chains of St. Peter, the right arm of St. Stephen, and an undoubted picture of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke.* But this pilgrimage was the fatal term of the glories of Eudocia. Satiated with empty pomp, and unmindful, perhaps, of her obligations to Pulcheria, she ambitiously aspired to the government of the eastern empire; the palace was distracted by female discord; but the victory was at last decided, by the superior ascendancy of the sister of Theodosius. The execution of Pauline, master of the offices, and the diagram of Cyrus, prefect of the East, convinced the public, that the favour of Eudocia was insufficient to protect her most faithful friends; and the uncommon beauty of Pauline encouraged the secret rumour, that his guilt was that of a successful lover.† As soon as the

* Eudocia (Anast. Hist. A. D. 426, 429) is reported and found to see her in a dream, at passing the time of different ages on the same field of antiquity.

† In this short view of the diaries of Basilida, I have inserted the names of Euphrasie, Galla, &c. &c. and even Marcellina, on whom A. D. 440 and 441. The two emperors were assigned to the

empress perceived that the affection of Theodosius was irretrievably lost, she requested the permission of retiring to the distant solitude of Jerusalem. She obtained her request; but the jealousy of Theodosius, or the vindictive spirit of Pulcheria, pursued her in her last retreat; and Saturninus, count of the domestics, was directed to punish with death two ecclesiastics, her most favoured servants. Eudocia instantly revenged them by the assassination of the count; the furious passions, which she indulged on this suspicious occasion, seemed to justify the severity of Theodosius; and the empress, ignominiously stript of the honours of her rank, was disgraced, perhaps unjustly, in the eyes of the world. The remainder of the life of Eudocia, about sixteen years, was spent in exile and devotion; and the approach of age, the death of Theodosius, the misfortunes of her only daughter, who was led a captive from Rome to Carthage, and the society of the holy monks of Palestine, insensibly confirmed the religious temper of her mind. After a full experience of the vicissitudes of human life, the daughter of the philosopher Leontius expired, at Jerusalem, in the sixty-seventh year of her age; protesting, with her dying breath,

rather, overturn a great part of the Greek authors; and the celebrated story of the apple, &c. is to be seen in the Arthurian Nights, where some thing not very unlike it may be found.

¹ Procopius, *On Eastern. Legat.* p. 409, & *contemporary*, and a number, daily mention her pagan and Christian enemies, without adding any title of honour in respect.

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The Pers-
ian War,
A. D. 422.

that she had never transgressed the bounds of innocence and friendship.^b

The gentle mind of Theodosius was never inflamed by the ambition of conquest, or military renown; and the slight alarm of a Persian war scarcely interrupted the tranquillity of the East. The motives of this war were just and honourable. In the last year of the reign of Jezdegerd, the supposed guardian of Theodosius, a bishop, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom, destroyed one of the fire-temples of Susa.^c His zeal and obstinacy were revenged on his brethren: the Magi excited a cruel persecution; and the intolerant zeal of Jezdegerd was imitated by his son Vararanes, or Bahram, who soon afterwards ascended the throne. Some Christian fugitives, who escaped to the Roman frontier, were sternly demanded, and generously refused; and the refusal, aggravated by commercial disputes, soon kindled a war between the rival monarchies. The mountains of Armenia, and the plains of Meso-

^b For the ten pilgrimages of Eudocia, and her long residence at Jerusalem, see *decection*, *idem*, &c. *see* *Associates*, (l. vii. c. 37), and *Eugrins*, (l. i. c. 20, 21, 22). The *Persian Chronicle* may sometimes deserve regard; add, in the domestic history of Antioch, *John Malala* becomes a writer of good authority. The *Abbe Guadet*, in a memoir on the fertility of Palestine, of which I have only seen an extract, calculates the gift of Eudocia at 20,422 pounds of gold, above 800,000 pounds sterling.

^c Theodoret, l. v. c. 28. *Thompson*, *Memo. Eccles. rom.* ii. p. 328-329. *Asseman*, *Biblioth. Oriental.* tom. iii. p. 396; tom. iv. p. 61. Theodoret follows the rashness of Amos, but excels the constancy of his Martyrdom. Yet I do not clearly understand the remedy which prohibits our repairing the damage which we have unlawfully committed.

potamia, were filled with hostile armies; but the operations of two successive campaigns were not productive of any decisive or memorable events. Some engagements were fought, some towns were besieged, with various and doubtful success; and if the Romans failed in their attempt to recover the long-lost possession of Nisibis, the Persians were repulsed from the walls of a Mesopotamian city, by the valour of a martial bishop, who pointed his thundering engine in the name of St. Timon, the apostle. Yet the splendid victories, which the incredible speed of the messenger Palladius repeatedly announced to the palace of Constantinople, were celebrated with festivals and panegyrics. From these panegyrics the historians* of the age might borrow their extraordinary, and, perhaps, fabulous, tales: of the proud challenge of a Persian hero, who was entangled by the net, and despatched by the sword, of Arcobindus the Goth; of the ten thousand *Immortals*, who were slain in the attack of the Roman camp; and of the hundred thousand Arabs, or Saracens, who were impelled by a panic terror to throw themselves headlong into the Euphrates. Such events may be disbelieved, or disregarded; but the charity of a bishop, Acacius of Amida, whose name might have dignified the saintly calendar, shall not be lost in oblivion. Boldly declaring that vases of gold and silver are useless to a god who neither eats

* See the text of the *Historia* (B. vii. c. 18, 19, 20, 21) is the best authority for the Persian war. We may likewise consult the three *Chronicles*, the *Patristic*, and those of *Marcellinus* and *Martin*.

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not drinks, the generous prelate sold the plate of the church of Amidæ; employed the price in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives; supplied their wants with affectionate liberality; and dismissed them to their native country, to inform the king of the true spirit of the religion which he persecuted. The practice of benevolence in the midst of war must always tend to assuage the animosity of contending nations: and I wish to persuade myself, that Artaxias contributed to the restoration of peace. In the conference which was held on the limits of the two empires, the Roman ambassadors degraded the personal character of their sovereign, by a vain attempt to magnify the extent of his power; when they seriously advised the Persians to prevent, by a timely accommodation, the wrath of a monarch, who was yet ignorant of this distant war. A truce of one hundred years was solemnly ratified; and, although the revolutions of Armenia might threaten the public tranquillity, the essential conditions of this treaty were respected near four-score years by the successors of Constantine and Artaxerxes.

Armenia
divided between the
Persians and the
Romans.

Since the Roman and Parthian standards first encountered on the banks of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Armenia* was alternately oppressed

* This account of the ruin and division of the kingdom of Armenia is taken from the third book of the Armenian history of Moses of Choren. Dejected as he is in every qualification of a good historian, his love of instruction, his piety, and his piety, are strongly indicative of a pious and contemporary. Procopius (de Edificiis, l. viii. c. 15) relates the same facts in a very different manner; but I have extracted the circumstances the most probable in themselves, and the least inconsistent with Moses of Choren.

by its formidable protectors; and, in the course of this History, several events, which inclined the balance of peace and war, have been already related. A disgraceful treaty had resigned Armenia to the ambition of Sapor; and the scale of Persia appeared to preponderate. But the royal race of Arsaces impatiently submitted to the house of Sassan; the turbulent nobles asserted, or betrayed, their hereditary independence; and the nation was still attached to the *Christian* princes of Constantinople. In the beginning of the fifth century, Armenia was divided by the progress of war and faction; and the unnatural division precipitated the downfall of that ancient monarchy. Chosroes, the Persian vassal, reigned over the eastern and most extensive portion of the country; while the western province acknowledged the jurisdiction of Arsaces, and the supremacy of the emperor Arcadius. After the death of Arsaces, the Romans suppressed the regal government, and imposed on their allies the condition of subjects. The military command was delegated to the count of the Armenian frontier; the city of Theodosiopolis* was built and fortified in

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440.

* The western Armenians used the Greek language and characters in their religious offices; but the use of that Eastern tongue was prohibited by the Persians in the eastern provinces, which were obliged to use the Syriac, till the invention of the Armenian letters by Mesrop, in the beginning of the fifth century, and the subsequent version of the bible into the Armenian language; a event which relaxed the connection of the church and nation with Constantinople.

* Mount Chosro, l. iii. c. 39, p. 309 and p. 328. Procopius, de Edificiis, l. iii. c. 3. Theodosiopolis stands, or rather stood, about thirty-

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 A strong situation, on a fertile and lofty ground, near the sources of the Euphrates; and the dependant territories were ruled by five satraps, whose dignity was marked by a peculiar habit of gold and purple. The less fortunate nobles, who lamented the loss of their king, and envied the honours of their equals, were provoked to negotiate their peace and pardon at the Persian court; and returning, with their followers, to the palace of Artaxata, acknowledged Chosroes for their lawful sovereign. About thirty years afterwards, Artasires, the nephew and successor of Chosroes, fell under the displeasure of the haughty and capricious nobles of Armenia; and they unanimously desired a Persian governor in the room of an unworthy king. The answer of the archbishop Isaac, whose sanction they earnestly solicited, is expressive of the character of a superstitious people. He deplored the manifest and inexcusable vices of Artasires; and declared, that he should not hesitate to accuse him before the tribunal of a Christian emperor, who would punish, without destroying, the sinner. "Our king," continued Isaac, "is too much addicted to licentious pleasures, but he has been purified in the holy waters of baptism. He is a lover of women, but he does not adore the fire or the elements. He may deserve the reproach of lewdness, but he is an undoubted catholic; and his faith is pure, though his manners are

thirty-five miles to the east of Artaxata; the modern capital of Turkish Armenia. See d'Anville's *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. p. 30, 161.

" flagitious. I will never consent to abandon
 " my sheep to the rage of devouring wolves; and
 " you would soon repent your rash exchange of
 " the infirmities of a believer, for the specious
 " virtues of an heathen."⁹ Exasperated by the
 firmness of Isaac, the factious nobles accused
 both the king and the archbishop as the secret
 adherents of the emperor; and absurdly rejoiced
 in the sentence of condemnation, which, after a
 partial hearing, was solemnly pronounced by
 Bahram himself. The descendants of Arsaces
 were degraded from the royal dignity;¹⁰ which
 they had possessed above five hundred and sixty
 years;¹¹ and the dominions of the unfortunate
 Artasires, under the new and significant appella-
 tion of Persarmenia, were reduced into the form
 of a province. This usurpation excited the jea-
 lousy of the Roman government; but the rising
 disputes were soon terminated by an amicable,

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.....

⁹ Moses Choren. l. iii. c. 63, p. 216. According to the institution of St. Gregory the apostle of Armenia, the archbishop was always of the royal family; a circumstance which, in some degree, converted the influence of the sacerdotal character, and united the mitre with the crown.

¹⁰ A branch of the royal house of Arsaces still subsisted with the rank and possessions (as it should seem) of Armenian princes. See Moses Choren. l. iii. c. 92, p. 221.

¹¹ Valerian was appointed king of Armenia by his brother the Parthian monarch, immediately after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, (Moses Choren. l. iii. c. 7, p. 83), one hundred and thirty years before Christ. Without depending on the various and contradictory periods of the reigns of the last kings, we may be assured, that the ruin of the Armenian kingdom happened after the access of Chosroes, A. D. 421, B. M. c. 67, p. 312; and under Varman, or Bahram, king of Persia, (l. iii. c. 64, p. 315), who reigned from A. D. 450 to 460. See Annesmou, *Recueil Oriental* tom. iii. p. 295.

CHAP. though unequal, partition of the ancient king-
 XXXII. dom of Armenia; and a territorial acquisition,
 which Augustus might have despised, reflected
 some lustre on the declining empire of the young-
 er Theodosius.



END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.



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"A book that is shut is but a block"

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